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ANCIENT ROME

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ALSO BY A. W. VAN BUREN

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE TO LATIUM AND
SOUTHERN ETRURIA. Third Edition.

A COMPANION TO THE STUDY OF POMPEII
AND HERCULANEUM.

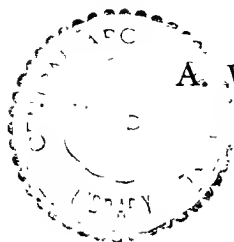
GRAECIA ANTIQUA : MAPS AND PLANS TO
ILLUSTRATE *Pausanias's Description of
Greece*, compiled by SIR JAMES GEORGE
FRAZER, with explanatory text by A. W.
VAN BUREN.

Ancient Rome

As Revealed by Recent Discoveries

by

A. W. VAN BUREN



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. . . And again, if one were to enter the original Forum and to see one forum after another extending beside this, and basilicas and temples, and if he were to see the Capitol and the structures here and those upon the Palatine and in the Porch of Livia, he would easily forget what is without.—STRABO OF AMASEA (writing under Augustus or Tiberius), v. 3, 8.

Thou shalt penetrate to the City.—
CLAUDIAN OF ALEXANDRIA, *De Bello Gothico*
(A.D. 402), 547.

. . . that so holy spot
The very Rome.
—RUDYARD KIPLING, *Puck of Pook's Hill*.

PREFACE

AN expression of gratitude is due to the generosity of Roman friends and colleagues, which has greatly facilitated the preparation of this volume. Professor Sergio Sergi accorded me two never-to-be-forgotten hours among the skulls of the *Istituto di Antropologia* of the University of Rome, where his explanation of Middle Quaternary Man demonstrated the significance of the recent finds of Saccopastore: he generously presented the photograph for one illustration. Drs. Muñoz and Colini of the Department of Antiquities and Fine Arts of the *Governatorato di Roma* were, as always, most liberal in acceding to my request for photographs, and Signor Riccardo Davico, of the American Academy in Rome, added to his many acts of kindness not only the presentation of views from his rich collection but also the willingness to execute some pictures which challenged all his skill and ingenuity. The plan of the city, at the end, testifies to the

competence, and the patience, of Signor Alberto Davico. In each instance, permission to reproduce was generously granted.

A. W. VAN BUREN

*American Academy in Rome,
1st February, 1936*

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
	PREFACE	vii
I.	THE MATERIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CITY OF ROME	I
	Importance for Archæology. Climate. Geology. Materials, Local and Im- ported: their Influence on the City.	
II.	SOME REMOTE PRECURSORS OF THE ROMANS.	10
	The Elephant of the Velia. Early Man from the Gravels of the Anio.	
III.	CITY WALLS AND POMERIUM	18
	The Republican Wall on the Aventine and elsewhere. Recent Interpretation of this Wall, which is now assigned to the Fourth Century B.C. Its Historical Set- ting. The Pomerium. The Imperial City Wall.	
IV.	REPUBLICAN TEMPLES.	30
	The Sacred Area near Pompey's Theatre. The "Italic" Type of Temple. The Edifices at the Forum Boarium.	

CHAP.		PAGE
V.	THE NEWEST MODERN STREETS AND OPEN PLACES: THE CONTOURS OF THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS	37
	The Town Planning of Modern Rome: Suburbs, Via dell' Impero, Via del Mare. Benefit to Archæology. The Clearing of the Capitoline Hill. The Aspect of Primitive Rome.	
VI.	THE IMPERIAL FORA	45
	The View along the Via dell' Impero. Plan, and Historical Development, of the Imperial Fora. Æsthetic Appreciation. Previous Knowledge as to Roman Topo- graphy and Monuments. The History of these Studies. Value of the Collected Material.	
VII.	THE APSE IN THE ROMAN TEMPLE	56
	The Temples with Apses form a Special Group. Distinct from Centres of Traditional State Cults. On or Near Pomerium. At Pompeii, Shrines of Lares and Kindred Minor Divinities. So in Rome, they housed the more Personal Cults of the Rulers. The Origin of the Apse. The Terms <i>Templum</i> and <i>Ædes</i> .	
VIII.	THE MONUMENTS OF AUGUSTUS	68
	The Augustan Bimillennium. The Mausoleum. The Frieze of the Basilica Æmilia. The Altar of Peace. "Pre- Augustan" Buildings. Stone Theatres. The Influence of Wood.	

CONTENTS

xi

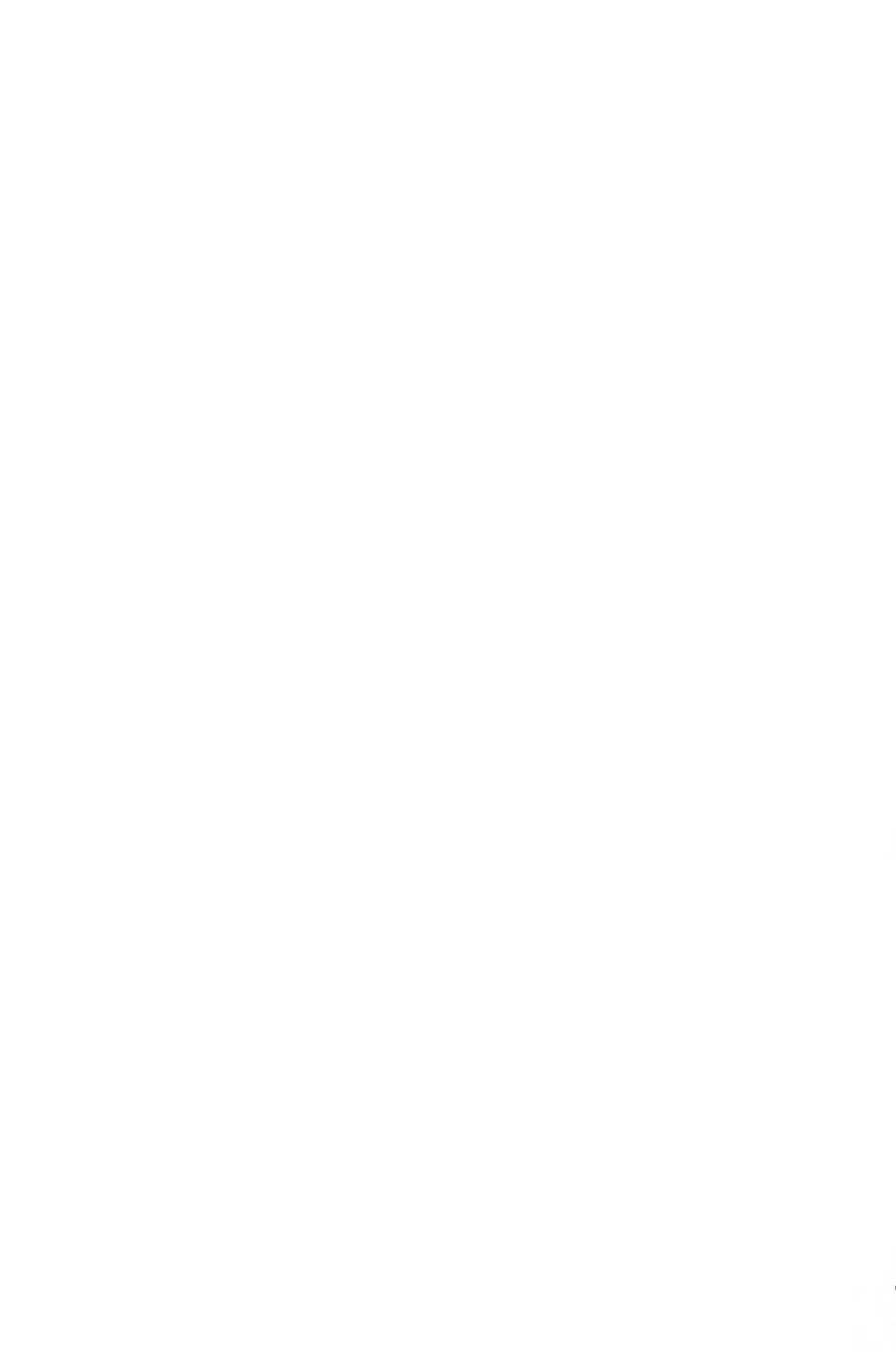
CHAP.		PAGE
IX.	THE INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE IMPERIAL FORA	83
	Hopes Partly Disappointed, Forebodings Partly Justified. Wealth of Fragments. Historical Significance. The Function of Monumental Inscriptions: their Magical Character.	
X.	DOCUMENTARY INSCRIPTIONS	95
	Imperial Rescripts. The Records from Ostia. Rome a City of Archives. Lists of Triumphs, Magistracies, Religious Acts. Old Inscriptions Interpreted Afresh.	
XI.	UNOFFICIAL INSCRIPTIONS	100
	The Basilica Argentaria and its <i>Graffiti</i> . An Ancient School. Virgilian Reminiscences. Echoes of Greek Poetry. A Christian Gaming-Board.	
XII.	THE TEMPLE OF VENUS AND ROME	107
	Its Partial Restoration. Maxentius and his Cult of Rome.	
XIII.	TRADES, CRAFTS, PROFESSIONS	114
	Terra-cotta Reliefs from the Cemetery of the Tiber Island near Portus: A Physician, Iron-Monger, Cutler, etc. Inscription of a Manufacturer of Glue. Romans of Oriental and Servile Origin. The Friends of St. Paul. The Red Seats, and their Possible Associations. Boxers in a Mosaic.	

CHAP.		PAGE
XIV.	OSTIA AND THE PORT OF ROME . . .	124
	The Mouth of the Tiber, and the Ports. The Cumulative Results of the Excavation of Ostia. An Ancient City Recovered. Imperial Prosperity. Republican Street-Plan, Walls and Buildings. The Fort, and the Origins. The New Antiquarium.	
XV.	DWELLING HOUSES, SHOPS, AND WARE- HOUSES	133
	The Six-storied House at the North-west Corner of the Capitoline Hill: an <i>Insula</i> . The Markets of Trajan: a Commercial Quarter. Recent Studies. Characteristics of the <i>Insula</i> . Shops and Warehouses.	
XVI.	ORIENTAL CULTS	141
	The Dolichenum of the Aventine. The Mithræum of the Valley of the Circus Maximus. The Lion-headed God from Domitian's Alban Villa. Oriental Divinities at the Villa of the Quintilii. Significance of these Cults.	
XVII.	THE PRÆTEXTATUS MUSEUM, AND ROMAN SARCOPHAGI	149
	Fragments of Pagan Sarcophagi and their Reconstruction. A Unique Scene of Flagellation. The History and Interest of Sarcophagi.	

CONTENTS

xiii

CHAP.		PAGE
XVIII.	<p>EARLY CHURCHES</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">Their Relation to Earlier Dwellings. Characteristics. Actively Investigated at the Present Time. Catacombs.</p>	158
XIX.	<p>ART.</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">Hellenistic Terra-cottas from a Shrine near Aricia. Marbles from Domitian's Alban Villa. Fragments from the Velia. The Colossal Acrolithic Statue of the Argentina Zone. Marble Bowls. Re- mains of Painting.</p>	161
XX.	<p>VARIOUS</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;"><i>Compitum Acili. Aqua Alsietina. Castra Equitum Singularium.</i> Precinct of Vesta. Curia. Palace of Domitian, and its Artificial Islet. The Oppian. Com- munications with the Campus Martius. The Pantheon. The Mausoleum of Hadrian.</p>	167
XXI.	<p>MUSEUMS</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">Recent Growth. Museo Nazionale Romano. Antiquarium of Cælian. Museo Mussolini. Forum and Palatine. Collections of Reproductions and their Utility.</p>	174
XXII.	<p>THE EVALUATION OF THE DISCOVERIES.</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">Administrative Organization, Theory, and Procedure. Publicity. Journals. Foreign Institutions and Scholars in Rome and Elsewhere. Homage to Rome.</p>	179
	NOTES	185
	INDEX	192



LIST OF PLATES

(*Supplement following page 184.*)

PLATE

- I. 1. Via dell' Impero at the Ridge of the Velia.
(*Photo. by R. Davico, with his kind permission.*)
2. First Skull from Saccopastore. (*Photo. by Prof. Sergio Sergi, with his kind permission.*)
- II. 1. Temples of the Argentina Zone. (*R. Davico.*)
2. Temples of the Forum Boarium. (*R. Davico.*)
- III. 1. The Capitoline Hill from W. (*R. Davico.*)
2. The Capitoline Hill from S.E. (*R. Davico.*)
- IV. 1. Via dell' Impero, looking towards S.E. (*R. Davico.*)
2. The Forum of Augustus, looking N. (*R. Davico.*)
3. The Forum of Augustus: post-Augustan detail. (*S.P.Q.R. : Photo. of Governatorato di Roma, by kind permission of Comm. Antonio Muñoz and Dr. A. M. Colini.*)
- VI. Mausoleum of Augustus: section and plan,
by Ing. Guglielmo Gatti. (*S.P.Q.R.*)
- VII. 1. Ing. Gismondi's Model of the House at N.W.
corner of the Capitoline Hill. (*S.P.Q.R.*)
2. The Temple of Venus and Rome, taken from
the Colosseum. (*R. Davico.*)

- PLATE
- VIII. 1. Relief of Oriental Divinities from the Aventine. (*S.P.Q.R.*)
2. Mithraic Relief from the Valley of the Circus Maximus. (*S.P.Q.R.*)
- IX. Marble Head from the Via dell' Impero. (*S.P.Q.R.*)

FOLDING PLANS

- V. Plan of the Imperial Fora, by Ing. Italo Gismondi. (*S.P.Q.R.*) *Facing page 54*
- Plan of Rome, showing the principal points to which reference is made in the text. (*Drawn by Sig. A. Davico.*) *At end*

I

THE MATERIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CITY OF ROME

EVERY country which has attracted the attention of archæologists possesses certain features which set it off from its neighbours; and each individual site has its own peculiarities which require consideration on the part of anyone who contemplates its investigation (1).* The investigator of the Palatine, with its enormous masses of concrete and its broken bits of marble veneering and decoration, will doubtless approach his task better prepared if he already has a working acquaintance with the delicate methods for sifting the evidence which have produced such admirable results at the Palace of Minos: but Rome differs from Knossos in more ways than can be reckoned in time and space. Again, whereas Sir Arthur Evans had the good fortune to approach his chosen field as practically its

* The bracketed numerals refer to the Notes, pp. 185 *et seq.*

first excavator in modern times, in Rome we are in the position of late comers. The German mission to Olympia, when they included in their definitive publication(2) a list of the activities of their predecessors at that site, accomplished the task in four pages; but there are more than a thousand pages in the four volumes in which the great master of Roman topography, Rodolfo Lanciani, recorded what has been transmitted to our day regarding the excavations and casual finds in Rome between the years 1000 and 1605 of our era(3); and who may say how much information from those six centuries is hopelessly lost?

Then the question of what is to become of the sites after they have been excavated! At some places they are left to resume a state of nature—so at Olympia; at others, like parts of the Roman Forum and of the forum of Ostia, they are re-buried; whereas in Rome more than one ancient building is functioning to-day in the religious, civic or social life of the community: the Pantheon, a church and a Royal mausoleum; the Tabularium, an administrative centre; the Market of Trajan, an exhibition hall; the Baths of Diocletian, where there is room for a public square and gardens, a church, and the greater part of a

museum; the Basilica of Maxentius, on occasion a concert hall. Each case presents its own problems of restoration, upkeep and the like.

Moreover, the excavator's own immediate problems are profoundly affected or conditioned by the history of his site, during the years that have elapsed between its ancient occupation and the present day. The soil of Rome has been subjected to man-handling of every sort from friend and foe, from builders and destroyers, and has endured the heat of the Italian Summer and the chill and damp of the Italian Winter, the inundations of the Tiber and the conflagrations and collapses due to the insecurity of man's handiwork, through all the centuries during which the crumbling structures of Ostia, the port by the mouth of the Tiber, were slumbering beneath a mantle of verdure, a sleep only occasionally broken by the rude efforts of mediæval or Renaissance searchers for marble and lime, and eighteenth century "dilettanti," until it was terminated in more recent decades by the enlightened activities of the Italian archæological authorities.

It is for these reasons that the present volume, an effort to convey an impression of the manner in which Rome has been revealed by the events

and the researches of recent years, principally the last decade, must begin with a summary of the local conditions; this will prepare for the subsequent pages, will suggest the lines along which the prospective student of Roman topography and monuments may profitably train himself, and will answer in advance some of the questions that may arise in the course of the book.

The climate of Rome, as already suggested, though on the whole well fitted for human habitation, is not so kindly towards man's handicraft, at least when compared with the dry areas of Egypt and parts of the Near East. At intervals throughout a considerable part of the year there is rain; while frost and ice rarely last for any length of time, they are not to be left out of calculation by the custodians of ancient monuments or delicate objects; and though the porous, elastic nature of the subsoil is considered by our contemporary Romans, with some justification, as a guarantee of a certain degree of immunity from violent earthquakes, still the peninsula lies distinctly in a seismic zone, and some fairly severe shocks have been recorded in the city in the course of ages, with not inconsiderable effects, as the aspect of the Colosseum and parts of

Aurelian's wall can attest. Until recent years, it has not been necessary in Rome to bear in mind that bane of the monuments of London, coal-smoke; nor is this to-day so obvious a menace to the marbles of Rome as it is to those in Athens; it is to be hoped moreover that with the ever-extending use of the inexhaustible hydro-electric energies of the Apennines, the menace may be definitely exorcised.

The soil of Rome has qualities all its own, and its geological and petrographical features have been often described (4). For us at the moment the elements to consider are the lower strata of clays and sands, the former, and part of the latter, dating from the geological ages when this plain of Latium was still a part of the sea; the tertiary limestone mountains, now some fifteen miles distant from the city, which represent the continent against which the waves of this early sea once dashed themselves; and the successive layers of tufa, a form of solidified volcanic dust and ashes, testifying to the various forms of volcanic activity, both submarine and subaerial, of which first the old sea-bottom and then—when a slight shifting of the earth's crust had forced it up—the plain was the scene. These

elements, together with the erosive action of streams of water and the disintegration due to atmospheric agencies, supply the physical setting in which civilization evolved and essentially the material basis for the remains with which the archæologist must deal; for geology and climate prepare the way for plant life and the coming of man, though man in his turn, when the time comes, will introduce materials from outside his own chosen area of habitation.

The soil of Rome and its neighbourhood, therefore, produced much of the raw material for the structures and products of the Romans. The authors, and occasional traces among the ruins, indicate that there was a wealth of timber in early times and even well down into the historical period, and this probably exerted a profound and far-reaching influence on the arts and the architecture of this people (5). Wattle-and-daub, and sun-dried brick ("adobe"), were probably even more useful in their domestic buildings down even to the time of Augustus, who on his death-bed claimed that he was leaving of stone and marble the city which he received of sun-dried brick (6). But of these perishable materials there is now little left. When the Romans

began to build in more substantial fashion—first for temples, and retaining or fortification walls—they had ready to hand the unimpressive but readily worked tufas of the subsoil (7); and later they learnt the potentialities inherent in the clays and the volcanic sands: they invented “brick and mortar,” in the sense that these materials—however much they were concealed beneath a veneer of marble and a coating of stucco—formed an essential characteristic of the edifices of Imperial Rome, as they never had in any previously existing city. The proprietors and workers of the clay-pits and the kilns of the region across the Tiber near the present Vatican (8) deserve the respectful consideration of all students of Roman antiquity.

Tufas, brick, and mortar, or rather concrete, akin to our modern hydraulic cement: then travertine, the limestone deposit which may occur in any spot where the streams coming down from limestone mountains, such as those of Central Italy, have an opportunity to form stagnant lakes and to deposit their calcareous matter. The Romans first used the variety which was deposited by the river Anio in the plain below Tibur, the modern Tivoli; hence the Latin name *lapis Tiburtinus*

and its derivative, the Italian *travertino*. By the time of Augustus they not only had discovered that a superior quality of reddish-brown tufa could be quarried near the same Anio at a point between Rome and Tibur, but for the adornment of more splendid edifices had made the acquaintance of the marble quarries of Northern Tuscany (Luna = Carrara). The choicer white marbles of Greece were already being imported in smaller quantities for statuary, sanctuary equipment and the like; and it was not long before the more distant overseas provinces and the outlying regions of Empire—Phrygia, Nubia, Africa—were made to yield their tribute of rich and rare and curious stones for the embellishment of the mistress of the world. If Imperial Rome was “colourful”—and we find implications in both her poets and her prose writers to this effect (9)—the outdoor colour was in no small measure due to the yellow Numidian marbles, the rich red porphyries and other hard stones from Egypt and from the promontory of Tænaron in Laconia, the granites from far up the Nile and—still greater refinement!—the gilded bronze tiles that testified to the far-flung routes of empire, the exchange of commodities with distant peoples, and the high pitch of develop-

ment attained by the arts and crafts; until finally the materials of which Rome was built and with which she was adorned constituted a panegyric to the industry, capacities and good fortune of the people.

II

SOME REMOTE PRECURSORS OF THE ROMANS

PLATE I, Fig. I, reproduces a photograph of more than usual importance. It was taken on 28th July, 1932, when the huge excavating operations incident to the construction of the great new street, the Via dell' Impero (see Chapter V, p. 42), had reached a most interesting phase. The point chosen is situated to the north-west of the Basilica of Maxentius, which lies on the right; one is looking south-east towards the Colosseum, the top of which appears in the distance.

At this point a spur of the Esquiline Hill, called Velia in antiquity, extended in a southerly direction towards the Palatine. In order to construct the new street on the level, it was necessary to remove masses of the native earth down to a depth far below that of classical antiquity: the state of affairs appears clearly in the picture. The history

of life in this part of Italy at a remote period was furthered by the discovery(10)—in a stratum of river sand which itself lay beneath a layer of tufa—of various bones and in particular an elephant's skull with one of the great tusks still attached to it; such tropical creatures have not been indigenous in these parts within human history. At the time when the elephant's skull and tusk were deposited here there was communication by land between Africa and Rome. This impressive palæontological find is now preserved in the Antiquarium of the Cælian.

This was not the only occasion on which skeletal remains of elephant and other fauna, long extinct in these regions, have been found in Italy in modern times. And similar finds had been made in antiquity on the island of Capri, where they were popularly known as "bones of giants," and were collected by Augustus, among other curiosities, for the adornment of his villa (11).

For the interpretation of such discoveries much depends upon the circumstances attending them and on the precise nature of the stratum in which each object came to light. The geological concomitants of this particular

find at the Velia may well have included the activities of the neighbouring volcanoes, for the tufas of the Roman Campagna have long been known to contain not only "leaves, branches and stems of ilex, oak and other land-vegetation," but—less frequently—"the bones, antlers or tusks of terrestrial quadrupeds" (12). The newly discovered elephant lived in the Early Quaternary Period, and the action of flowing water to which was due the alluvium in which his remains were found probably did not carry them a great distance from the spot where he died: he was a denizen of the soil of Rome before the historic Seven Hills had been raised by volcanic activities to their present height. Though not an immediate forerunner of the Romans, he has claims to be considered their Remote Precursor.

Fig. 2 on the same Plate 1 introduces another race of Remote Precursors, more nearly akin to contemporary man. It shows the upper part of a skull which was found in April, 1929, in a gravel pit at a point called Saccopastore, to the north of Rome, about two miles outside Porta Pia, near the left bank of the river Anio (13); the owner of the land where it was found, Duke Grazioli, liberally presented it to

the Institute of Anthropology of the University of Rome. Its discovery—in the vicinity of many fossil remains of long extinct animals, now the denizens of warmer climes, including the teeth of *elephas antiquus* and *hippopotamus major*,—adds the name of Rome to a distinguished group of places, including Neanderthal in Rhenish Prussia, La Chapelle aux Saints in Dordogne, Gibraltar, and Galilee, where there have been found the bones of an earlier race of man than our own, who lived in the Middle Quaternary Period: thus enticing us into a field of interest which has been revealed to science by a series of remarkable individual finds, mostly of recent years (14). In order to describe this precious and venerable object from the Roman area it is necessary to employ some technical terms: it is a woman's skull, lacking the mandible; most of the supra-orbital ridge is lost, but its shape is clearly to be recognized; there are also some minor breaks. The skull is platycephalic (flat on top), byrsoidal (spreading out like an ox's hide or letter 8), with very large visual orbit—suggesting somewhat the higher orders of apes rather than *homo sapiens*; the brain cavity is small, giving about 1,200 cubic centimetres for “cranial capacity.” But its unique im-

portance has been shown by Professor Sergio Sergi's careful observation and his comparison with the other, less well preserved, members of the group: the excellent preservation of the occipital foramen shows a position like that in skulls of present-day man, and indicates that Middle Quaternary Man did not stoop like the higher orders of apes, as had generally been supposed, but held his head erect, like men to-day. No flint artifacts, such as these people doubtless used, were found in this connection; but it is well known that in former years many primitive stone implements have been yielded by the gravels of both Anio and Tiber.

Again, on the 16th July, 1935, another skull of "Neandertal Man" came to light in the same region. This specimen unfortunately was badly damaged, but it preserved some parts which were lacking in the other. The delicate task of liberating it from the masses of hard stone in which it is still embedded, its further study, and its definitive publication, are in the competent hands of Professor Sergio Sergi. The portions now visible do not indicate whether the individual was male or female. But the following account may be repeated (15):

“ The orbit, which is straight, wide and round, is surmounted by a very decided orbital arch; the nasal orifice is very wide and rounded; the face is high and straight; there is no sign of a canine fossa; and the dentition which is preserved is less worn than that of the first skull. The auricular region is well-preserved and shows a very small mastoid process, as is usual in this race. It is curious that a skull as mutilated as this has whole those parts which are so seldom complete in other finds. The age of the skull seems to be that of a late period of the last interglacial epoch, when the final series of deposits were laid down in the lower valley, in a succession of floods and subaerial clays.”

As already indicated, these two skulls are assigned to the Middle Quaternary Period, and hence have not lain buried beneath the Anio gravels for so long a time as the elephant's skull and tusk of the Velia have rested among the alluvium; but even so, the 40,000 years which geological and palæontological specialists feel justified in proposing as an approximate length of time are quite adequate to suggest the slowness of the processes by which Man—

through successive waves of incursion from abroad, alternating with long periods when these regions were abandoned by human kind—developed to his present form and to the present use of his faculties; and for purposes of this comparison, we must group ourselves and the civilization of our own day with the earliest historical Romans of which we have knowledge. In the familiar words of Virgil (16):

Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem !

The importance and bearing of these skeletal remains for the history of early human relations have been emphasized by Professor Sergio Sergi in one of his preliminary articles on the find of 1929: whereas it had seemed for a time as if the Italian peninsula had played a secondary part in the origins and the development of the oldest races that inhabited Europe,—as if this land had remained quite outside the earliest currents of humanity, or on their edges,—now Italy has been clearly shown to have been one of the centres of these people, since its first inhabitants lived at a time when the definitive geological and geographical constitution of the peninsula had not yet been established. Even

at so early a date Italy was exercising that function as a centre of attraction and development for the nations which has distinguished her throughout the ages of history.

III

CITY WALLS AND POMERIUM

THE laying out of a street about the year 1926 at a point on the south-east slope of the Aventine led to the uncovering of a fine stretch of the republican wall of the city (17). It is typical of the greater part of the wall: a thick stone facing of blocks of the yellow tufa from the "*Grotta Oscura*" quarries (18), laid in alternating courses of "headers and stretchers," and at five points where they were originally concealed from view showing the stone-cutters' signs, or "quarry-marks"; within this facing of stone blocks, there was a mass of piled-up earth. The existence of this particular stretch of wall had been known as long ago as the year 1855, but now it stands revealed in all its dignity; a short distance to its south-east is a very well known portion, where the old wall had been "modernized" in the first century B.C. by the insertion of two arched apertures for the installation of ballistæ or catapults: an important city gate

lay not far distant, and an attacking party was thus exposed to flanking artillery fire. The masonry of the new apertures consists of another more durable kind of tufa, and has a backing of concrete: two indications of comparatively late date.

Parts of the monumental *enceinte* of the republican city were stated to be "hard to find" as early as the time of Augustus (19); but it has never been entirely forgotten, and in fact the line of the great earthen rampart which was a special feature of the defence of the north-eastern part of the city could always be distinguished as a ridge amid the open fields and vineyards that lasted in this region until the building operations of the 1870's; the line of the "*agger*" appears in the admirable engraved plan of Rome which was published by Giambattista Nolli in the year 1748. The city's development as the capital of united Italy, following the events of 1870, resulted in the transformation of what had been up to then the outskirts of the modern city, and the consequent destruction of some parts of the wall and the revealing of other parts; and the intensive road-making and house-building of the present day have carried the process a stage further. Beside the "*Grotta*

Oscura " parts of the wall, and the late republican restorations, the slopes of the Palatine have yielded portions in scoriated tufa, and a number of stretches have been revealed where the stone is an inferior kind of local tufa called "*cappellaccio*"; a portion in this material came to light a very few years ago on the north-east part of the Capitoline Hill.

With regard to this wall, already an ancient monument in the days of Cicero, the material remains are extensive, and the modern scientific literature is considerable: for after a lapse of years during which there seemed to be little new that could be brought forward, the combination of additional discoveries with the rise of a fresh generation of investigators, keener-eyed than their predecessors or perhaps better trained, has resulted in ushering in a new phase of knowledge; an interesting feature has been the interpretation, at this late date, of many of the records that had been taken by Rodolfo Lanciani at the height of the building operations of sixty years ago. The lion's share in this work was accomplished by a young member of the Swedish Archæological Institute in Rome, Dr. Gösta Säfllund, whose name, in consequence, has become a "household word" in Roman archæological

circles (20); but an independent approach has been maintained by the expert in engineering, town-planning and architecture, Professor Armin von Gerkan of the German Archæological Institute (21). There is still wide divergence of opinion on matters of detail and on some more fundamental questions; and some distinguished experts are less inclined to follow Dr. Sâflund's historical interpretations; but in my opinion the following points are either definitely established or reasonably probable.

The characteristic "*Grotta Oscura*" wall such as served for the starting-point of this chapter is due to a complete fortification of the city, which was executed in the decades following the Gallic disaster of the year 390 B.C.

Its line differs in one important respect from that which appears in the current handbooks: the space between the Capitoline and the Aventine was traversed not by means of a river-wall but by running the line well back from the river, first into the gap between Capitoline and Palatine and then into the valley between Palatine and Aventine, thus making the detours of two marshy areas, first the Velabrum and then the Forum Boarium and the beginning of the valley of the Circus Maximus.

Until the laying out of this line, there was no continuous stone wall about the city: before the early settlements on several of the hills had become absorbed in a larger political unit, a considerable degree of natural protection was afforded by the steep hillsides, and in conditions of primitive warfare this, if helped out at the few weaker points by slight artificial barriers, was all that was required; the armed manhood of the community was its main defence.

When the Romans eventually coalesced in one political unit, these older hill defences were supplemented at certain points by masonry of "*cappellaccio*," and on the north-east the exposed landward ends of Quirinal, Viminal and Esquiline were protected by a long line of low earthen rampart and external fosse, with which there was associated the name of the sixth king, Servius Tullius. The great "*Grotta Oscura*" wall represented the thorough-going adoption of a new system, but its builders, at certain points, incorporated the work of their forerunners: the previously-existing low earthen rampart was encased in the new, lofty "*agger*."

At several subsequent periods, in times of crisis, these defences were "modernized";

and the discovery of layers of concrete behind and even under some fine stretches of "*cappellaccio*" wall shows that this primitive-looking material, which archæologists have associated with some of the earliest dated monuments of Rome, such as the Capitoline temple and the original temple of Castor—monuments dating from the last years of the kingdom and the beginning of the republic respectively—was also in common use for certain purposes and where it would not be exposed to the weather, as late as the first years of the first century B.C.; not all walls in this material are early.

The engrossing question still remains as to the identity of the engineers who planned, and the workmen who executed, the great fortification of the fourth century B.C., one of the most stupendous undertakings of the kind that had been seen in Italy up to that time. Its conception resulted from a fusion of two theories of what a wall should be: the Italic earthen rampart and the Greek free-standing stone wall; the result is, in principle, a stone wall serving as the facing for a great mass of earth, with variations of procedure as dictated by local peculiarities in the terrain; there were slightly projecting towers, and carefully constructed gates. As to the actual workmen

who dug the fosse and put in place these masses of cut stone and earth, in the circumstances, there is no information available apart from the expression in a literary source soon to be quoted which, by referring to "a contract," would appear to eliminate the idea of a soldier's task; but unskilled local hired labour seems a reasonable solution. A clue, however, as to the identity of the engineers in charge and the superintendents of the quarries has been furnished through Dr. Sjöflund's observation that certain of the above-mentioned "quarry-marks" point towards the form of the Greek alphabet which was in use at Syracuse and Selinus in Sicily. The great Syracusan tyrant, Dionysius the Elder, had brought to a high degree of perfection the art of fortification, under the threat of siege operations by the Carthaginians; they in their turn were familiar from of old with the century-long tradition of poliorcetics and their counterpart, strong city walls, which had been developed in Mesopotamia and which is attested by the historical reliefs and written records of the Assyrian monarchs, as well as by such passages in the Old Testament as *Ezekiel* iv, 1-3 (sixth century B.C.). An intelligible historical setting for the construction of the great wall

of republican Rome is afforded by the years of friendly relations that existed between Dionysius and the Romans; the precise date when the undertaking was assumed by the state appears to have been 378 B.C., for under this year Livy (22) tells of fresh taxes that were imposed in order to meet the cost of a wall, the contract for the construction of which in squared stone had been given out by the censors.

The practical functions of the republican wall had their counterpart in the religious or magical symbolism of the pomerium; this was originally the ceremonially delimited space within which ran the actual material wall; then, in later times when the fortifications fell into disuse, it was maintained by itself for the sake of its religious content. Even in centuries that had witnessed the progress of the Roman eagles by the Rhine and Euphrates it remained for certain ceremonial purposes the traditional boundary between Roman and foreign territory: an impressive instance of the tenacious folk-memory of this people. Its line was respected even as late as Hadrian, who delimited it by means of inscribed boundary stones; and on several occasions, when successful military undertakings had won fresh territory for the

far-flung empire, the ruler exercised the traditional privilege of a commander-in-chief who had thus advanced the borders of Rome's holdings, that he should extend the pomerial area: this operation likewise being commemorated by inscribed boundary-stones. Such documents have been found bearing the names of Claudius and Vespasian; and the knowledge of the find-spots, in the instances where the stones were in their original position, had enabled scholars to plot, though with some hesitation, the line of this religious boundary, approximately as it existed in successive stages of the city's development, for a large part of its circuit: but there still remained some gaps, where the evidence was lacking (23).

This is the historical and topographical background which lends importance to the chance find in the year 1930, in the course of building operations at a point in the northern part of the Campus Martius (24) to the west of the Flaminian Way, of two stones, still in their ancient position, their main inscribed surfaces facing inwards towards the city. One bears the names and titles of Vespasian and Titus, and then continues thus:—*auctis p(opuli) R(omani) finibus | pomerium ampliaverunt | terminaveruntque* ("having enlarged the boundaries of

the Roman people, extended and delimited the pomerium "); on one of its side faces is the serial number of the stone, CLVIII.

The main inscription of the other stone begins: *Ex s.] c[.] co[llegium] au-]gurum auctore* — ("In accordance with a decree of the senate, the college of augurs, by authority of—"), then come the name and titles of Hadrian, and then: — *terminos pomerii] restituendos curavit* ("—conducted a restoration of the boundary-stones of the pomerium"); one of the side faces has the serial number *CLIX* (Hadrian's stone-cutter evidently differed from the one employed by Vespasian in his method of indicating "158"), the other *p(edes) CCXI* (possibly *CCXL*), the distance between this stone and the next in order. The favourable circumstances in which these two boundary-stones came to light have made it possible in several respects to obtain a more precise idea of the line of the pomerium, not only as it was enlarged by Vespasian and restored by Hadrian but also in the form which it had received under Claudius, as well as with regard to the procedure adopted by its regulators (25).

It was not until the principates of Aurelian (A.D. 270–275) and Probus (276–282) that Rome was re-fortified: and the great concrete-

and-brick circuit that was then constructed, together with its gates and towers, though repeatedly restored, remained until recent times the enclosing wall of the city. Exigences of modern life have demanded that it should be pierced at various points, but its place in the heritage of Rome is well recognized and the preservation of most of its essential features appears assured; credit is due to the authorities for their efforts toward its maintenance. Mr. Ian A. Richmond's book(26) occupies a distinguished rank among publications of the last decade: for his investigations are so fundamental as to amount virtually to the "discovery" of this venerable monument and to claim, on their merits, a place in the present volume: but our scope lies primarily with finds due to the pick and spade rather than with the labours of those equally useful implements the eye and the pen. Suffice it to say that, as regards the main lines, the successive phases of the great wall's construction and history have been established in the light of materials and technique: the purpose of the first builders has been defined, and the activity of Maxentius, a generation after them, in doubling the height of the wall and remodelling its gates, now stands out clearly;

again, the extensive restoration of Honorius, *ca.* the year 404, in "modernizing" the defensive equipment and the architecture, and once more the vicissitudes of the Ostrogothic times in the first part of the sixth century, can now with confidence be read in the remains: a triumph of scientific method.

IV

REPUBLICAN TEMPLES

PL. 2, Fig. 1, shows a sacred area, about 170 feet in length, which has now been excavated and rescued from utilitarian demands, at one of the busiest points of modern Rome, the "Argentina Zone" (27), between the Corso Vittorio Emanuele and the Largo Arenula: in terms of ancient Roman topography, somewhat to the north-west of the Circus Flaminius, and slightly to the east of the porticoes connected with the Theatre of Pompey. There are four small edifices, three of which have the rectangular temple form, while the second, reckoning from the north, is circular. The view in the plate, with the northernmost temple in the right foreground, is taken from somewhat east of north, and shows well the depth at which the pavement of early imperial times lies below the street level of to-day: the change in levels has doubtless been due to many causes, including conflagrations and the subsequent demolitions and rebuildings. The two most northern

members of the group—temples A and B, reckoning from north to south—were already known from Renaissance times; in fact a mediæval church, San Nicolà ai Cesarini, had nestled within the northernmost of all; the distinguished architect—and notorious falsifier of archæology—Pirro Ligorio seems to have known something of the other two temples; but it was the effort of the authorities during the years 1926–1928 to preserve in the midst of a modern street plan the two venerable structures that projected above ground that led to the uncovering of the rest of this remarkable *ensemble*: the travertine-paved area was enclosed in antiquity by a stout retaining wall for most of its circuit; for part of this extent there was a portico, at least towards the close of the classical period, and there were also several secondary structures in the precinct. No one had supposed that the houses of modern Rome were concealing so complete and so characteristic a sacred area, still less did it seem possible that so many remains of the republican period could have lasted to the present day in a practically uncharted enclosure of their own (28).

The travertine pavement already mentioned dates from early imperial times; the enclosing

colonnade, in its present form, as already stated, is from late antiquity, at which general period there was laid a second pavement of travertine at a higher level than the other; the southernmost temple, D, is of the first century after Christ; but the three other structures, though showing the effects of ancient restoration, go back essentially to the time of the republic; stratification shows that Temple C is the oldest, and both C and A had already experienced one restoration before the close of the republic. Beneath the early imperial travertine pavement have been found the remains of two pavements in tufa—of which the earlier is laid at a higher level than the foundation of Temple C—with traces of the enclosing walls that demarked the open space in front of each temple, and with the altars that stood—at the lower levels—in the spaces in front of Temples A and C; the altar of Temple A was partly demolished in antiquity, but that of Temple C is completely preserved, is an admirable example of carved details of the second century B.C., and bears the inscription *A. Postumius A. f. A. n. Albinus duo vir lege Plaetoria reficiundam coeravit* (“Aulus Postumius, son of Aulus, grandson of Aulus, duovir, in accordance with the Plætorian law, saw to the

reconstruction of this altar"). Except for its oblong shape it is in most respects a counterpart of the well-known altar of Verminus from a niche in the republican wall on the Viminal(29); but unfortunately the name of the divinity here worshipped is not recorded on the newly discovered altar. The remains of the colossal acrolithic statue which were found below the imperial pavement level near Temples B and C will be discussed in Chap. XIX, pp. 164-5.

Temple C is not only the oldest of the group—the "*Grotta Oscura*" stones of its foundations, with their masons' marks, are in the tradition that had been left by the builders of the great republican wall (p. 18)—but, as regards its foundations, the best preserved and the most interesting. It belongs to a class of temple which in recent years has been represented by a number of newly discovered examples, is recognizable by certain definite characteristics, and, under the conventional name of "the Italic Temple," has been studied, together with the traditional "Tuscan" type, in a comprehensive article(30). The distinguishing features are the high podium, the pronaos almost as deep as the cella, and the exterior colonnade which is carried about the sides of the cella as far as the short spur which

projects from the back wall: for this back wall of the cella is extended for the full width of the podium and then brought forward for a short distance at its extremities. The sacred edifice is thus conceived as seen from the front only: "both architectural and decorative emphasis was laid on the façade, which thus became a dominant feature and [in many instances] imposed a symmetrical arrangement of buildings in relation to itself" (31). We shall later (pp. 46, 55, 57-8) return to the subject of "the Italic Temple."

There could have been no more sobering revelation of the gaps in our knowledge of ancient Rome than the fact that the seven years that have elapsed since the uncovering of this sacred area have not brought scholars perceptibly nearer to an identification of the respective monuments: they remain still with their conventional labels, "Temples A, B, C, and D." Neither learning nor energy nor ingenuity has been lacking; what has up to the present failed to emerge has been definite evidence. Temple B, with its round plan, appears to be not a "temple" in the strict sense of the word, but a "shrine"—for the worship of a divinity of secondary rank, or a "hero": Hercules has been suggested, but

the ancient sources mention several shrines of the hero in this general region, and the choice is embarrassing. The Temple of Mars "*in Circo Flaminio*," built apparently shortly after the year 138 B.C. by a Greek architect, Hermodorus of Salamis, lay not far off, and it is tempting to identify it with Temple A: but this remains a hypothesis, attractive though it is. And the same is true with regard to the Temple of the Lares Permarini and the Porticus Minucia which enclosed it—or were there two Minucian Porticoes, the Old and the New?

The attractive qualities of the smaller temples of the last centuries of the republic have been revealed at their best in the Forum Boarium, near the Tiber, as the result of works of demolition and systematization. Pl. 2, Fig. 2, shows, from somewhat east of north, the two structures that have always been favourites with visitors to Rome: in the foreground, the rectangular tufa-and-travertine temple, originally decorated in stucco, which can present some claims for identification as the Temple of Mater Matuta (32); and beyond, to its left, the round marble structure that may have been the shrine of Portunus: the "port" of Rome, for goods that could be conveyed in small craft

up the Tiber as far as the city, lay in this immediate vicinity. This is one of the lowest-lying parts of ancient Rome. Beyond the temples is the modern Tiber embankment, the line of which at this point as it goes upstream swings somewhat further out towards the current of the river than did the ancient river-wall. Here several ancient sewers—systematized brooks—discharged into the Tiber. In the distance to the extreme left appear some of the buildings on the crest of the Aventine overlooking the Tiber.

Identity and dating of these two edifices are still subject to discussion: their peculiar charm, in the green space that has been created in this low ground next the river, is beyond dispute.

V

THE NEWEST MODERN STREETS AND OPEN PLACES: THE CONTOURS OF THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS

THE developments at the Argentina Zone may be considered sporadic in the sense that so extensive and methodical an excavation was not planned from its inception; and many of the finds of recent years are due less to deliberate policy on the part of the authorities than to the haphazard activities of individuals. The soil of Rome, after all these centuries, still has many fragments of antiquity in its keeping which from time to time it is ready to give up; and while the centre and much of the rest of the ancient city, as well as large stretches outside its walls, might have been supposed to have become fairly exhausted, still the annual yield continues. Naturally, most isolated finds are in themselves of limited interest; but even a comparatively dull looking wall will sometimes help to fill a gap in the plan of the ancient city, and occasionally an individual

object "turns up" which will assume a place of some distinction in the museums and the "literature"; while the preceding chapter has shown—what will appear again when we discuss the developments near the Forum of Trajan—that the possibility is not to be excluded, even at this late day, that a densely populated quarter of the modern city may prove to lie above some monumental group, the existence of which, as a whole, has remained unsuspected, or the nature of which has failed to be appreciated. The systematizing of the central square of to-day's Rome, Piazza Venezia, disclosed, lying well below the present street level, the remains of two great structures—one belonging to the general class of residences, tenement houses or shop buildings, the other of uncertain type—that stood beside the ancient Via Lata (see the discussion of houses in Chapter XV, pp. 133-4). And the engineering operations incident to the modernizing of the city and its adaptation to future demands have opened a new chapter in the investigation of the Capitoline Hill and adjacent parts, especially the Imperial Fora, the Forum Boarium and the Forum Holitorium.

In principle, the consideration of contemporary Rome is not contemplated in the plan

of this book; but the thought of Rome of our day is never far distant, and the great undertaking which had its culmination in the *Via dell' Impero*, the *Via del Mare*, and the partial liberation of the Capitoline Hill and the parts between it and the Tiber, requires at least a brief description, for it forms part of an extensive project of city-planning which has exerted profound influence on the course of our studies.

The Rome of thirty years ago occupied practically the same area that had been included in Aurelian's ring of walls (*ca.* 275 A.D.): and while the estimates of scholars as to the population of the ancient city have varied widely, the approximate figures of 900,000 at Cæsar's death, considerably over a million at the beginning of the second century of our era, 900,000 under Septimius Severus, and—a sharp drop—half that number a century later (33) appear well founded. A modern capital that promised to exceed the highest of these figures required modern facilities and a modern street system.

The first requisite was a ring of suburban quarters all about the existing city: and these have in fact arisen. But these outlying districts could be rendered available for the housing of

employees and workmen only if they were connected with the centre of the city and with each other by means of an effective system of rapid transit. The subsoil of Rome, owing to its friable and unstable tufas and clays and its many springs and streams, as well as its slight elevation above the level of sea and Tiber, is not suitable for the construction of underground railways; elevated lines are open to objection; the only practical solution remaining was to demolish considerable tracts of the densely-built central portion of the city which—as fortune would have it—were at the same time both slums and archæological areas, and thus to acquire space for wide motor roads and monumental parks. The dream of liberating the Imperial Fora and the monuments of great historical interest had for long been haunting the archæologists: but, as will be seen, the immediate impulse was of a nature primarily sociological and economic, and our own science entered as a beneficiary.

Naturally, these excavations would not have been conducted along exactly the same lines if they had followed purely scientific criteria. They were executed within severe limits of time; in some instances the preservation of interesting monuments had to take second place

as compared with the exigencies of present-day life; sometimes the work was stopped before reaching virgin soil, in order to systematize the streets and gardens at the desired level; and at certain points the minor undulations of terrain which had been conditioned by the geology and which constituted a characteristic feature of the ancient city have now been smoothed out or even obliterated: but these losses are slight in proportion, the risks attendant on speedy large-scale clearing were minimized through the competent supervision exercised by the archæological authorities; the untouched deep-lying strata still exist beneath their modern sealing of roads and flower-beds, ready for future eyes to discover, and—as a slight by-product of this vast scheme—some of the valuable minutes of working time which the improvement in transportation has saved are available for the interpretation of the Roman past.

Special circumstances also conspired to draw the most interesting archæological areas into the town-planning picture. A large extent of adaptable land to the south of the city was separated from the focal points of modern Rome by an east-and-west barrier of archæological reservations and slums. The populous quarters

of Rome could not grow southward unless the barrier were pierced. Hence the two most important avenues, connecting the south end of the Corso Umberto Primo with the area near San Paolo: the Via dell' Impero and its continuation the Via dei Trionfi, to the east of the Capitoline Hill, and the Via del Mare, to its west: the former route passing through the Imperial Fora, leading past the Colosseum and thence to the southern quarters, the latter skirting the Capitoline on its side toward the Tiber, and passing by the Theatre of Marcellus and the edifices of the Forum Holitorium and the Forum Boarium, then to traverse the Valley of the Circus Maximus—or else to go between the Aventine and the Tiber—and join the other route before reaching Porta San Paolo. This is the undertaking to which, with its concomitant the liberation of the Capitoline and of the two commercial Fora just mentioned, a large part of the recent monumental discoveries have been due.

And the clearing operations of the newest Rome have revealed the outlines of the earliest city: for in Pl. 3, Fig. 1, which was taken looking toward the east from the Via del Mare, there appears the natural rock face of the Capitoline Hill, much as it must have

been when it offered itself to the gaze of the first comers, except for the deep caves which testify to the activities of quarriers in antiquity and in more recent times. Not only a large part of its western slopes are now visible, but a certain amount of the south-east slope, as is shown in Pl. 3, Fig. 2: this portion of the hill, while not literally overhanging the Roman Forum, still lies somewhat in that direction, and surely gives the essential features of that dread spot, the Tarpeian Rock, which an author of the Augustan Age, in his narrative of earlier events, described as "the hill lying above the Forum; and the place"—he continues—"is a sheer precipice, whence it was their practice to cast those condemned to death" (34).

The study of these two illustrations will prove more helpful than many words in conveying an impression of what must have been the physical aspect of primitive Rome, or rather of the isolated and semi-isolated hills which were chosen by the first settlers for their several places of abode.

In order to obtain a still more vivid impression, one has only to go some twenty miles to the south of Rome, to the site of Ardea, a small corner of which is now occupied by the

tiny hamlet of that name (35): here, owing to the remains of a great earthen rampart that separated the "promontory-fort" from the higher ground behind it, it is possible to envisage the strategic conditions with which the early peoples were faced. Given the pre-vaillingly precipitous contours of these hills—the result of erosion—on the one hand, and the limited efficacy of primitive weapons on the other, the picture that was drawn in Chapter III (p. 22) as to the early fortifications of Rome appears fully justified; and it was in fact the picture which the later Romans themselves long possessed as to the works of their distant ancestors (36).

VI

THE IMPERIAL FORA

THE view in Pl. 4, Fig. 1, is taken from a point low down on the north-east slopes of the Capitoline Hill, and gives a panorama which has been revealed by the clearing operations, and the construction of the Via dell' Impero, to which reference was made in the previous chapter. The massive outlines of the Colosseum in the distance show that one is looking towards the south-east, through the gap which appeared in Pl. 1, Fig. 1. The Basilica of Maxentius stands to the right of the new highway; somewhat nearer is the area once occupied by Vespasian's Temple of Peace, but—except for a massive column to be seen to-day lying on the ground—such remains of that edifice and its surroundings as may still exist lie many feet below the level of the present street. Directly before us is the Forum of Julius Cæsar; three columns with entablature have been re-erected on the podium of the Temple of Venus Genetrix, belonging to Trajan's restoration. There can be discerned

in the right foreground something of the porticoes and hall that in course of time constituted a feature of this area.

The disposition of the Imperial Fora as a whole appears on Pl. 5, Ingegnere Italo Gismondi's carefully-prepared plan which conveys with such precision the results of this great undertaking of clearance and maintenance on the part of the Italian government. It is unnecessary to repeat in words what is so well set forth in black and white: the relation of one open space to another, the major and minor axes, the vistas, the means of communication, the relation of covered to open spaces, and of temples to precincts. A preceding chapter has prepared the reader for finding that the temples do not stand fully in the middle of their enclosures in the traditional Greek fashion, but are set against the back walls of their precincts (p. 34). The ornate character of this zone with its splendid halls and its forest of columns can be grasped from the consideration that many of the variegated marble slabs for the veneering of the walls and the paving of the floors were brought from Africa or Asia Minor, and that the columns were largely monoliths transported from across the seas, and even from high up the valley of the Nile.

The Imperial Fora were called into being, one after the other, in fulfilment of a course of evolution which had its beginnings far back in the republican era. As early as the dawn of history, the cattle market had been held near the Tiber, at the *Forum Boarium*. But there was a time when the traditional Roman Forum between Capitoline and Palatine was quite adequate for the transaction of almost all kinds of business, whether of an administrative, legal or commercial nature: the needs of politics and legislature being met by the adjacent Comitium and Curia. In the course of years, however, with the growth of population and the expansion of affairs and interests, the more materialistic and noisy elements threatened, unless kept in check, to submerge those of a more subtle character, with the result that it proved necessary to provide special accommodation elsewhere for the trades in question: a centrifugal tendency reminiscent of certain biological processes where one organism throws off a group of minor organisms. The dealers in vegetables eventually had their own *Forum Holitorium*, the fishermen their *Forum Piscarium*, dealers in sweets their *Forum Cuppedinis*; the goldsmiths had their favourite haunts by the Sacred Way;

there was a Bazaar of Spices, *Horrea Piperataria*, though perhaps at a later date than that which at present concerns us; the butchers eventually possessed at least three *macella*; and so on. Special provision had to be made for the law-courts, and a characteristic form of structure, the basilica, was created, or adapted, for this purpose.

But this was not enough. With the tendency of Rome to grow northwards, towards and into the Campus Martius, there was strong pressure towards shifting the heavier part of legal and administrative business in that direction. Nearby there was the pomerial area of the republican city wall (see above, Chap. III, pp. 25-6), which seems to have already suffered encroachment at the hands of private individuals; at any rate a letter of Cicero of the year 54 B.C. (37) tells of enormous sums of money that were being spent by Cæsar or his friends, in buying up the land for his Forum, the first of this new series of open spaces. The Dictator lived to see the dedication of the Temple of his Divine Ancestress, Venus Genetrix, but not the completion of the whole Forum; this fell to his heir Octavian, who as Augustus extended the project with his own great Temple of Mars Ultor and its spacious

enclosure (Pl. 4, Fig. 2, looking north). The new dynasty of Vespasian and his sons, with its eastern triumphs, was represented by the Temple and precinct of Peace; and the intervening strip of ground, the Argiletum, a lane following an old brook-valley that served as communication between the original Forum and the higher ground to the north-east, was brought into a sort of conformity with its new surroundings by Domitian, who gave the available space a new interpretation as the precinct of the shrine of his personal divinity Minerva; but limitations of space compelled various devices of curtailment, and in particular the adoption of a false colonnade along the sides of the enclosure; Nerva completed this work.

The restorer of Rome's greatness, Trajan, just ruler and wise benefactor, had more spacious and far-reaching plans, and these resulted in his noble Forum with its halls, storied column, libraries and, climbing up the adjacent slopes of the Quirinal, on both sides of the winding street that led towards the eastern part of the Campus Martius, a whole quarter of shops, offices and accessories, including a large vaulted hall for the representatives of various interests whom his gran-

diose building plans had displaced from their former abodes (see Chapter XV, pp. 136-7; also Chapter XX, p. 172). His successor Hadrian put the finishing touch to the great series of Fora by erecting at the extremity towards the Campus Martius, beyond the Column of Trajan, the Temple of that Deified Emperor.

Of all this, much was already known to scholars, and many details could be visited and examined by the curious; but what can now be seen is a revelation of the magnificence of ancient Rome and the boldness of conception and execution of her architects and engineers.

As was only to be expected, there is a sad contrast between the splendour that in ancient days was here and the fragmentary character of what is now left. The host of statues that once populated these colonnades and halls have long since vanished. It is vain to look for traces of that glittering bronze roof that aroused the enthusiasm of a discriminating visitor in the time of the Antonines who knew well the monuments of Greece (38). And most of the marbles have ages ago found their way to the lime-kilns and the churches of the city. But the creations of genius do not wholly die; the essential plan still remains and can

be made to live again in the interpretation of the architects of our own day (39).

The Forum of Augustus, with the Temple of Mars Ultor, appears in Pl. 4, Fig. 2. An enormous wall of dull grey fire-proof volcanic stone encloses the whole area, its irregular shape testifying to the scrupulous care with which its builder respected the rights of land-owners whose ground was not open to purchase. The great semi-circular recesses in the wall afforded opportunity for a variety of treatment. The rich marble Corinthian order (40) of the Temple itself must have appeared like a radiant vision, as one emerged from the entrance and gazed between the columns of the enclosing portico, and caught sight of the great white structure standing against the stern dark background of the precinct wall. This Forum eventually received further embellishment—columnar halls and the like—under Domitian and Hadrian; a detail is shown in Pl. 4, Fig. 3; the special associations of its Temple and its inscriptions will engage our attention in future chapters (pp. 58-61, 65-67, 75, 83-4, 89-90).

As regards the other Fora, space fails for a detailed account of the recent finds; they are, however, for the most part well set forth and illustrated in a convenient handbook, *Via*

dell' Impero, already cited in the notes (note 10). Things that linger in the memory are the two libraries flanking the Column of Trajan; the peripheral colonnades and apses of his Forum and Basilica; the wheel-ruts of the Argiletum appearing below the level of Nerva's Forum; and, at a still greater depth, the remains of burials of an early period of occupation of this region, the First Age of Iron, before the dawn of true history.

Such a wealth of sensations is bewildering; and it is time to turn aside from the visible remains of "the grandeur that was Rome" to consider for a few moments the labours of the generations of lovers of Rome who have contributed to the understanding of the Eternal City; for the workers of the present day have entered into their labours. And in order duly to appreciate the significance of the latest discoveries, it is necessary to consider the framework of already existing knowledge into which they fit. For not only is it true that "Rome was not built in a day," but the intricate fabric of the science of her Topography and Monuments has been the work of many generations, and still is not completed.

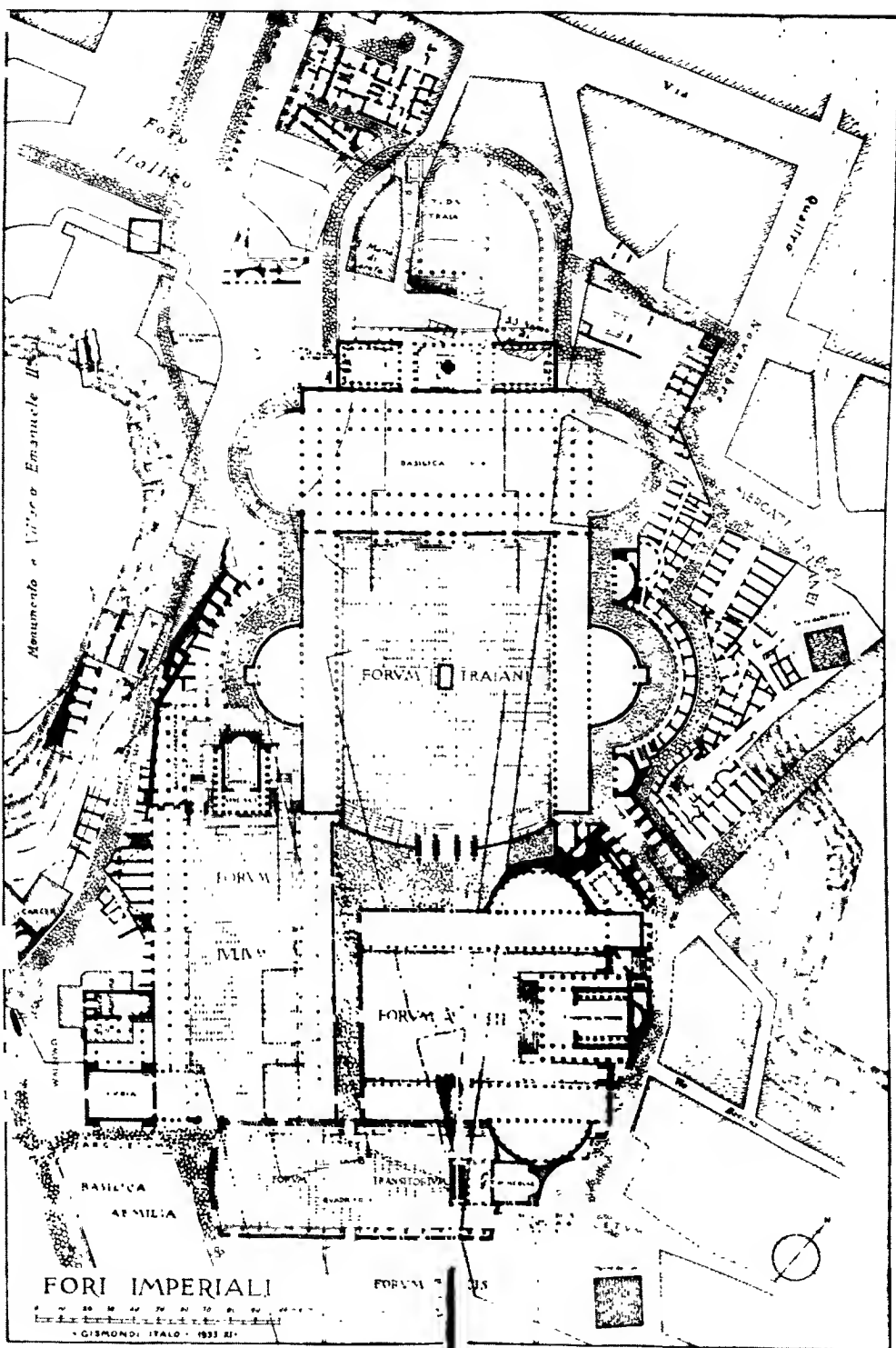
The greater part of the knowledge already acquired is accessible in several recent publica-

tions (41). The history of earlier phases of this study, however, is so vast as to form practically a branch of knowledge in itself. Most manuals in our field devote a few pages to it, but succeed merely in suggesting the wealth of material, and the fascination which it exerts on those who succeed in penetrating it (42). The mere description and ordering of that humble by-product, the tourist's guide-book to the city, have required a volume of well over five hundred pages (43).

But our present aim is different, and no purely antiquarian interests, however seductive, may be allowed to lure us for long from the contemplation of *ancient* Rome as revealed by *recent* discoveries. It will be enough to realize that the maps and plans which appear in current standard publications are based on the studies of succeeding generations which with gradual improvement in method have each done its share in reconstructing the form of the ancient city. One particular phase of antiquarian pursuits, however, does concern us here. Much of the ancient adornment, whether architectural carvings, statuary or inscriptions, has found its way to the steadily growing museums; and the systematic ordering and the scholarly interpretation of the architecture,

sculpture and epigraphy of Rome and of the ancient world have resulted in the creation of three important branches of archæological science. There is, current in learned circles, a Latin saying by Eduard Gerhard, one of the founders of what is now the German Archæological Institute, to the effect that "he who sees a single work of art sees none: he who sees a thousand sees one"; and it means that in order to understand and appreciate a single temple, or statue, or inscription, it is not enough to stand before it and look at it: one must search out other examples of the same class, compare them, and use the qualities discernible in the many in order to set the individual specimen in its proper environment and to extract its full significance. The group forms a higher unit. This is the reason why the *collections* of material, whether actual museums or the published catalogues, have their special value. The uniformity observable helps to establish the characteristics of the type; and the deviations from the norm, being due to special causes, require each its own explanation. Again, ordered data and tabulated statistics can tell much which isolated examples fail to reveal. The bearing of this last consideration is obvious in the case of inscriptions (44),

PLATE V



Ing. Italo Gismondi's part of the Imperial Fora.



but statistics may prove illuminating even when applied to so numerically small a class as temples. Thus the statistical method has yielded excellent results in the hands of a recent investigator who, by tabulating the dimensions and the resultant proportions of the " Tuscan " and " Italic " temples of Central Italy, was able to demonstrate, first, that the variations in proportion between length and breadth of these structures have some relation to their geographical distribution: to the north of the Volscian territory there is a tendency towards the square plan, whereas in the Volscian area and to its south the tendency is towards the oblong; and, second, that the local Capitolia, both in the South and in the North, are either square or very nearly so (45). But the mention, in connection with temples, of types and deviations from type, leads to the subject of the next chapter.

VII

THE APSE IN THE ROMAN TEMPLE

THE investigator in any field of science is accustomed to group the material which comes under his observation according to classes, in conformity with certain indications which he chooses for that purpose. Eventually he will find a specimen which, while in a general way classifiable under an established heading, still in some minor detail deviates from the type: within the genus there is a species, within the species a sub-species.

In the biological field, the occurrence of deviations from type suggests the intrusion of some special element among the determining causes; and in the consideration of archaeological material, a marked variation from the norm, if observable in a clearly-definable group, likewise suggests the presence of a special reason prompting the makers of the object or monument in question to adapt it to their particular purpose. Instances among the minor arts of utilitarian function are too

numerous to quote; and the principle is of equal cogency when applied to large buildings, and in particular to edifices associated with the purposes of cult. What has appeared to be a significant instance of this has come into prominence in connection with the recent activities at the Imperial Fora (above, Chap. VI, pp. 45-55) (46); and its bearings on Roman religious ideas and on the policy of the early emperors entitle it to the dignity of a whole chapter.

In the typical Greek temple of the classical period, the cult-statue and its base were free-standing, and could be inspected from all sides; they, as well as the temple itself, were conceived in the round. This rule was not universal even in Greek temples, and there were instances, as in the Temple of Apollo at Delphi and the temple at Nemea, where a half-underground *adyton* was incorporated in the cella; but these are survivals from a primitive age, which do not seriously invalidate the generalization as applied to the classical period: there was no occasion for a recess at the back of the cella and, as a corollary to this, there was no apse.

The typical Italic temple of the earlier period (above, Chap. IV, pp. 33-4) likewise

has no apse: but both temple and cult-image are conceived as seen from the front: the plan of the temple terminates behind in a flat wall, and the cult-image stands against the back wall of the cella: the Italic divinity was not an apotheosis of humanity to be welcomed among the human community, but a magic force to be stored in reserve apart from mankind, and to send forth its emanations from the inmost part of its dwelling. A rectangular ground-plan for both the consecrated ground and the building that was to be erected upon it was provided by the discipline of the augurs.

It is now possible, however, to enumerate a group of monumental sacred buildings which in one obvious detail do not conform to the procedure described: the zone of the *Via dell' Impero* (pp. 45-52, Pl. 5) includes three important edifices which show marked deviation from the tradition of both the Italic and the Græco-Roman temple. These are the Temple of Venus Genetrix as constructed by Julius Cæsar and attested by the remains still in place within the mass of the Trajanic reconstruction; the Temple of Mars Ultor, built by Augustus; and the Temple of Minerva, built by Domitian and completed by Nerva. (To these should be added the Temple of the

Deified Trajan, if it is correctly restored with apse.) In each of these structures, the back wall of the cella, instead of forming a straight line, is broken in the middle by a curvilinear niche; the base which occupies the niche in the Temple of Mars Ultor shows, as in any case could be assumed, that the function of the niche was to contain the cult-statue. These niches, or apses as it is convenient to call them, were a feature of the interiors only, in the case of these three temples; in the instance at least of the Temple of Mars Ultor, and probably in that of the temple of Minerva as well, it is evident that no exterior apse was visible to the public. As a somewhat later date, another of the great edifices of the city, Hadrian's Temple of Venus and Rome, now familiar in its Maxentian restoration, contained a similar niche at the back of each of its two addorsed cellæ (see below, pp. 110-12). It is reasonable to regard such rudimentary apses as one of the starting-points for a development resulting in the exterior, as well as interior, apses of various later structures; another starting-point can be recognized in the semi-circular exedræ and scholæ of the late Hellenistic age, and a transitional or parallel phase appears in the tribunalia of the pagan

basilicas; the culmination is reached in the great Roman churches.

It is logical to enquire whether to this material and formal differentiation in the cult-rooms of the three early imperial temples there corresponded a differentiation in the nature of the divinities there established. Such a distinction does in fact exist: for Venus Genetrix, whom a spirit like Lucretius (47) might exalt as a cosmic principle, is in essence not a Roman state divinity but the divine ancestress of the Julian Gens; Mars Ultor is less a great Olympian than the watchful ancestor of the same house, as of the Roman people in general—Mars was also the consort of Venus Genetrix, as Lucretius already knew (48); and the Minerva of the Emperor Domitian, in a somewhat similar manner, was a household, or personal, divinity rather than national in function. Again—and this is an important consideration,—the sites chosen for these three temples were not at the centre of Republican Rome, where there already existed the traditional cult-places of the Roman people, but lay so close to the line of the republican city-wall that it is highly probable that the first two of them, if not the third, actually stood upon the pomerium itself and

not inside its sacred boundary (see above, Chap. III, pp. 25-6) (49). These cults and temples, at the time that they were established, in both the literal and the figurative sense, stood apart from the traditional worship of the Roman state; in the time of Hadrian and his double temple the feeling for the sanctity of the pomerium was doubtless less conscious among Romans in general. And there is a precept of the Etruscan soothsayers, quoted by Vitruvius (50), to the effect that the sanctuaries of Venus, Vulcan, and Mars should be placed outside the city wall.

Before considering the less conspicuous, or less well attested, monuments of the Capital, it will be helpful to turn to the contemplation of the sacred edifices of Pompeii, a city concerning which sufficient is known to serve as a basis for generalization. When we proceed to observe the nature of the sacred and public buildings of the Campanian city in which such curvilinear niches or apses do or do not occur, we find, first, an absence of them in the great temples such as the Capitolium and the Temple of Apollo, but their presence in the Temple of Fortuna Augusta as reconstructed in connection with that cult, and in four of the public edifices about the Forum which

there is some reason to associate with the worship of the Lares, or of the Genius of the Emperor: the so-called *Aedes Larum Publicorum*, the *sacellum* in the Building of Eumachia, and two of the office-buildings at the south end of the Forum. In the *Villa dei Misteri*, a similar niche forms a feature of the room which in all probability has been identified as a *sacellum Larum* (51). And the newly-discovered *Casa del Menandro* must not be forgotten in this connection: at the back of its spacious portico there are two semi-circular niches, alternating with two roughly rectangular exedrae and contiguous to the household lararium: one of these has on its wall a painting of Diana as Huntress, with subsidiary scenes, and the other, Venus Pompeiana and Cupid represented as standing within a small shrine (52).

But it is time to return to the monuments of the Capital. The Pompeian analogies point to the conclusion that such structures as have been under consideration were intended in the first instance not for the worship of the great state divinities but for more intimate cults of the family, or even the individual, which in the case of imperial personages were exalted and were accorded a rank alongside those of

the old state cults. Most of the apsidal buildings which appear, for example, on Lanciani's plan of Rome, do not enter into the present discussion, as they are probably of late date, and in most cases are not temples but basilicas, baths, tombs, or Christian churches. But if reliance may be placed on the available records, an apse formed part of the exterior lines of the Temple of Venus Victrix which was an integral part of the Theatre of Pompey.

Again, country shrines might on occasion assume the form which has been described. A villa of the Flavian period in the territory of Aricia which contained the colossal statue of Artemis now in the National Museum in Rome had a chapel with a true apse, external as well as internal (53), in which the statue of the goddess was accommodated; this reminds one strongly of the niche with the representation of the same divinity in the *Casa del Menandro* at Pompeii.

It is tempting to speculate on the origin of the curvilinear niche: the two grottos, half-natural, half artificial, at the sanctuary of Præneste (54) are entitled to consideration in this respect; while the concave covering of the niche, like the dome, of which it is the

half, may readily have lent itself to astrological and cosmological symbolism (55). But the shallow rectilinear and curvilinear niches which appear on a smaller scale at Pompeii as early as the second century B.C. either as domestic *lararia* or as shrines on the streets and at the gates of the city, and the niche-shrines of the Mother Goddess of Capua, suggest already existing tendencies which were to find expression in this monumental form. There is also a cult-niche at a certain height on the back wall of the cella of the shrine of the Thea Basileia on the island of Thera, not earlier than the first century B.C. (56). Again, the recently discovered heroon at Calydon in Ætolia (*ca.* 100 B.C.?) has, over the tomb-crypt, a large cult-niche, rectangular in plan and restored by its investigators as having a barrel-vault and an arched entrance (57). But the earliest instances of the use of the true half-domed curvilinear niche in temples, to my knowledge, are the two shrines of Venus built by Pompey and Julius Cæsar respectively—for the construction of the niche in Augustus's Temple of Mars Ultor, a generation later, warrants the assumption of a similar superstructure to fit the curved plans of the two older buildings—they were essentially *lararia*,

magnified in dimensions and brought into contact with the great public.

As to the date at which this architectural form originated, structural and technical considerations are more cogent than abstract theorizings. In the Hellenistic period, there were curving exedræ, and it is not impossible that some of them had wooden roofs (58). And the same heroon at Calydon has on the west side of its court a small curvilinear exedra which its excavators restore with a semi-conical roof (59). Somewhat similar rock-cuttings occur in Greek areas from far earlier times. But the true structural niche, roofed by a half-dome, would not have come into existence until a time when concrete was in use, *i.e.* not before the later part of the second century B.C.; and its invention is to be sought in the area where the possibilities of this material were first methodically exploited, *i.e.* Campania and Latium.

The three great monuments of the Capital with which this chapter began lay upon or near the pomerium, and they were devoted to household divinities of the rulers; but on the other hand, from the fact that they were constructed on a magnificent scale, and in the midst of public squares, the centres for the

transaction of public and private affairs, they soon became the possession of the common people, who thus became in turn associated with the religious interests of their rulers. These structures were probably consecrated in much the same way as the older cult centres of the state: at least, in the case of the shrines of Mars Ultor and Venus Genetrix, the term *templum* is used with almost the same frequency as *ædes*. (For the present purpose, the distinction between the two lies in the emphasis on the "fabric" in *ædes* and on the juridico-religious consecration of land and edifice in *templum*; but the latter word, being of somewhat more exalted connotation and at the same time more sonorous when used in a sentence, was preferred by poets and rhetorical writers, in instances where *ædes* was more strictly correct.) In the case of the Temple of Venus Victrix, we are expressly told by Tertullian—a late and Christian source, but sometimes well informed—that the building was styled *templum* in the edict of its founder Pompey (60); and Pliny the Elder speaks of its "dedication" (61). The formality of its dedication was in fact part of Pompey's device for using the temple as a cloak to secure the proper authorization for the building of his

theatre, which—with perfect typological propriety—he represented to be an adjunct to his temple. As regards Augustus's Temple of Mars Ultor, the sources emphasize that ruler's efforts to enhance its significance in the religious and military life of the state and people; and in his own record, the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (62), he three times calls it *templum*; but perhaps the name failed to hold its own in popular speech, for a century later, when Suetonius (63) has occasion to describe the building achievements of the founder of the principate, he thrice uses *ædes* of this edifice, two of these times in marked contrast with *templum* which he applies to the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine.

The recent uncovering of the Imperial Fora, with their special type of large apsidal temple, has thus revealed, more completely and more clearly than before, a characteristic and instructive aspect of the early principate in its relation, on the one side, towards the unseen powers of the universe, and on the other, towards the Roman people.

VIII

THE MONUMENTS OF AUGUSTUS

THE founder of the principate was born 23rd September, 63 B.C., and his two-thousandth anniversary is to be officially celebrated during the year which will culminate 23rd September, 1938. The programme includes far-reaching works of excavation, restoration and investigation; the complete excavation of the *Ara Pacis Augustæ*, with its reconstruction on some suitable site, possibly in the Mausoleum of Augustus itself; the systematization of the area that includes the Mausoleum; the exploration of the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta on the Flaminian Way; the further exploration of Bovillæ on the Appian Way, the seat of the cults of the *Gens Julia*, of Velitræ, where the future ruler spent part of his early years, and of Nola, the scene of his death. Each of these last-named places had some association with his remote or nearer ancestry; but neither they nor recent developments in the Augustan and Virgilian landscape of Cumæ, Lake Avernus

and the Gulfs of Baiæ and Puteoli must be allowed on this occasion to distract attention from the Augustan monuments of Rome itself.

The initial and pivotal place in this far-reaching campaign is taken by the Mausoleum of Augustus, which has always been known to both Romans and visitors, dominating as it does by its sheer bulk the northern part of the Campus Martius between the Flaminian Way and the Tiber (Pl. 6). The first phase of its recovery has been already accomplished (64), with the clearing of a large part of its substructions and, in particular, of the entrance corridor and the central crypt, and the ascertaining of most of the precise data requisite for the comprehension of its structural and architectural qualities. Next will come the transfer of the famous Roman musical season from the familiar hall of the "Augusteo," constructed above the imperial vault, to a new building in course of erection near the False Aventine; the removal of the modern concert-hall; and finally, such amount of restoration as may be found advisable, together with the installation in the vicinity of a park to recall those "*silvas et ambulationes*" (65) that once were here; and, as suggested above, if con-

ditions warrant, the re-erection of the *Ara Pacis Augustæ*.

The Mausoleum, as it was officially designated as early as the lifetime of Augustus (66), —*tumulus* was a term also used—is dated to the exact year of construction, 28 B.C. (67), and thus serves as a fixed point in the history of building technique. Since it was obviously laid out on a definite system of proportions and measurements, it is also serviceable as testimony to the official Roman foot. Its general features, as now known—for previous ideas must be rectified in several important respects—appear in the section and plan on Pl. 6.

Black indicates the portions still in existence; the rest is restored with every probability of correctness. At the centre was a massive square pillar of travertine, measuring 12 Roman feet in width and 150 feet high; this was encased in a cylindrical mass of concrete which had an average thickness of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet, with facing of travertine blocks 4 feet thick: the total diameter of the central cylinder amounted to 30 feet. Next came the system of concentric masonry rings, each of these serving a structural function but all except the outermost ring, which was probably faced with marble, being

concealed by the mound of earth which they helped to hold in place; including the marble or travertine facing, the total diameter was 300 feet. The central space, surrounding the great pillar, contained the urns within which were deposited the ashes of Augustus and the members of his house; on the top of the pillar, according to Strabo (68), was a bronze statue of the Ruler; the surface of the earthen mound was planted with evergreen trees.

The whole structure is understood as an adaptation of the type of sepulchral tumulus that was traditional in Etruria from early times, influenced also by such Asiatic Greek monuments as the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, from which in fact it derived its official name: both these currents of tradition probably had their origins in the highlands of Asia Minor, and like other streams of culture they were destined in the fullness of time to find their meeting-place by the banks of the Tiber and under the rule of Augustus.

During the forty-one years that elapsed between the building of the Mausoleum and the August day in 14 A.D. when it received the mortal remains of its imperial builder, Augustus saw the frustration of most of the hopes which he had successively cherished of

establishing a dynasty, of which the stately monument was to have been the symbol. First, in 23 B.C., the dearly beloved Marcellus, whose funeral called forth those poignant lines in the sixth book of the *Æneid* (69) which are for us the earliest mention of the monument in literature. In 12 B.C., fate claimed Agrippa, the almost inseparable companion of Augustus in all his toils on sea and land. Next, in the following year, his sister Octavia. And then a succession of the younger members of the house who in the course of nature should have carried on the task of empire: Tiberius was left. After the sepulture of the Founder, the doors of the Mausoleum opened to receive the ashes of most of the Julio-Claudian rulers; Vespasian; Nerva; and a century later, Julia Domna, whose name apparently was held to justify her admittance here.

Such are the associations evoked by the inmost circular corridor about the central pillar: for this was the actual sepulchral crypt: the large niche on axis with the entrance belonged to Augustus and his consort Livia, the one on the left to Octavia and Marcellus, and the niche to the right was probably first assigned to Gaius and Lucius Cæsar, but subsequently was occupied by Nerva.

For, in spite of the ruthless depredations of the Dark Ages, the recent discoveries have included fragments not only of the marble urns that contained the coffers of metal with the ashes of the great dead, but scanty fragments of statues, and portions of inscriptions, whether engraved on the fronts of the marble ossuaries, on the bases of the statues, or on separate slabs of marble: observation of the find-spots has served to assign some of the urns to their respective niches; and comparison with the statements in the authors and with the inscriptions that were found here in previous centuries has resulted in a reconstruction, inadequate though it must remain, of the successive entombments. The imperial crematory, *ustrina*, was situated a short distance to the east, between the Mausoleum and the Flaminian Way.

To-day, a visit to this imperial crypt is one of the most impressive experiences that Rome affords: the administration has with pious care brought together not only the inscribed and sculptured fragments yielded by the new excavations, but reproductions of those already existing in the museums.

Among the bits of marble in a glass case beside the entrance is the fragment of the left

side of a man's head, from a point just before the ear to near the extreme back of the cranium; its marked resemblances to the known portraiture of Augustus suggest that it is a survival from the portrait statue of the Founder himself. There is one end of the marble ossuary that once bore the name of Octavia: there still are to be seen the words "—— sister of —— Augustus." On another marble, from an honorary inscription, the portions preserved from two lines refer to a *princeps iuventutis*—either Gaius or Lucius. But all these are surpassed in pathetic interest by the marble base that once supported two statues of mother and son: "—— Marcellus, son of Gaius, son-in-law of Augustus Cæsar. Octavia, daughter of Gaius, sister of Augustus——." The curtain of the centuries is for the moment lifted, and the visitor is brought face to face with the grief of the Julian house.

Mention has already been made of the *Ara Pacis Augustæ*, the culmination of Augustan art, commemorating the Spanish victories that established peace in the Roman world: decreed in the year 13 B.C., and dedicated in 9, partly excavated in Renaissance times by diggers who knew not what they had found but carried off the exquisitely carved blocks to adorn their

villas and palaces; more scientifically investigated thirty years ago. Its complete excavation and reconstruction at some suitable spot, probably, as stated above, at the Mausoleum, should prove an event of exceptional importance. It requires mention here, because with the erection of this altar there was completed the series of symbolic edifices due to the ever-widening interests and aims of the founder of the empire: the shrine of the Deified Julius, to commemorate his adoptive father; the Temple of Mars Ultor, to record the divine vengeance that had sought out the assassins; the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, to express gratitude for the crowning mercy of Actium; and, last of all, and in due time, the Altar of Augustan Peace. The first three were placed at the centre of Rome for all men to see; the Altar of Peace, close to the stream of traffic on the Flaminian Way, the great north road; but far to the north, amid the green spaces of the Campus Martius, was the tomb of the new dynasty.

Another monument of the Augustan Age claims attention: the Basilica Æmilia, on the north side of the Roman Forum. Even in its present dilapidated condition—the result, in part, of the quarrying activities of the High

Renaissance—it conveys an admirable idea of the qualities of Augustan work.

Commendatore Alfonso Bartoli, Director of Forum and Palatine, and his group of experts, have been, with the greatest care, sifting the soil and débris that had accumulated at the rear of the edifice, towards the *Via dell' Impero*. Their work is not yet finished but they have already been rewarded by the discovery of a considerable stratum, not only untouched since antiquity, but containing numerous marble fragments which bore, still fresh, the unmistakable marks of fire, and obviously had fallen from the upper parts of the Basilica at the time of some conflagration. The patient, skilful work of putting together the sculptured bits in a room of the Forum Antiquarium has led to the recovery of a large part of a frieze which, probably in the Augustan period of the building, ran about its interior at a great height above the floor. There are a number of episodes represented, some of which can readily be identified as from the legendary history of Rome: the Rape of the Sabine Women, the tragic fate of Tarpeia, the building of the walls of a city, presumably Rome itself. Each figure stands clearly against the background—there is no overlapping as in Flavian

art, no massing as on the column of Trajan: in this respect the tradition is Hellenistic. Some of the faces are, artistically speaking, Greek; whereas others have unmistakably Roman features.

This lengthy historical frieze seems to be unique in Roman art, and it does not at once find a place clearly assignable to it in the repertory. The Basilica Æmilia had a long history and underwent several restorations between its foundation in 179 B.C. and the close of antiquity. From the already-mentioned letter of Cicero, of the year 54 B.C. (70), describing various manifestations of building activity in the Capital, it appears that the restorer of that year re-used the old columns of the building: could he have re-used likewise an already existing frieze? And might this have been preserved in later rebuildings?—But pending the official publication it is advisable to abstain from conjecture which may prove futile.

There is a small group of what may be termed “pre-Augustan” buildings, erected between the death of Julius Cæsar, on the Ides of March, B.C. 44, and the Battle of Actium, B.C. 31: they exhibit special qualities of sobriety combined with delicacy of feeling and

technique which serve as a suitable prelude to the ornate monumentality that was to follow. Most of these buildings were the benefactions of triumphant commanders (71); from among their number, there have recently been found a portion of the foundations, and some exquisite details of the marble order, of the Temple of Apollo at the extreme south end of the Campus Martius, next to the Theatre of Marcellus; this sacred edifice was rebuilt by Gaius Sosius after his triumph, 3rd September, 34 B.C. The Corinthian columns rested upon elaborate bases, of which the *tori* suggest a series of twisted ropes; and the shafts are distinguished by alternating wide and narrow flutings with broad flat arrises. As to the Regia, rebuilt by Gnæus Domitius Calvinus after his triumph of 17th July, 36 B.C., the newly discovered fragments of its *fasti* will be considered in the chapter (X) on documentary inscriptions (p. 98); the appreciation of its structure and plan has been somewhat furthered by a recent study (72). To the same group belongs the shrine of the Deified Julius at the east end of the Roman Forum, though its actual dedication was deferred until 18th August, 29 B.C., after Octavian's triple triumph. This building still awaits adequate study, but in the

meanwhile its west front has been restored sufficiently to protect it from further disintegration.

Another characteristic edifice which for purposes of classification may conveniently be assigned to this period is the Theatre "of Marcellus," planned by Julius Cæsar, so far advanced in 17 B.C. that it was available for representations, but not actually finished until either 13 or 11 B.C. As a result of the recent demolition of adjacent buildings and the construction of the Via del Mare (p. 42), the two lowest of the three superposed series of orders of its travertine exterior can be appreciated to better advantage than before: as an architectural type they constitute a forerunner of the Colosseum, and the subtle stylistic differences between the two monuments are indicative of the change that came over the Roman world in the course of a century. But the Theatre of Marcellus has a further claim for consideration, for it was the second stone theatre to be erected in Rome—a generation after the Theatre of Pompey, of 55 B.C., which also is in part preserved though concealed within some modern houses. These two structures, like the various theatres and amphitheatres that were to follow, mark a departure

from the Greek practice of utilizing the natural slope of a hillside for the purpose of accommodating an audience: they stand completely isolated in the plain, regardless of the great material outlay involved. The explanation is suggested by references in the authors to wooden structures, some of which were earlier in date; given the existence of open level ground suitable for large gatherings outside the city, with perhaps the presence there of sanctuaries that lent themselves to festival observances, and given at the same time an abundance of timber, the origin of the wooden prototypes is readily understood. The shift to more permanent material was in accord with the general tendencies of the age, but was also influenced by the growing scarcity of large timber in Central Italy. In some instances economy of material and effort might have been effected, as in fact was done by the builders of the amphitheatre at Pompeii, through the device of excavating from the area to be occupied by the lower parts and using the earth thus obtained for the support of the higher rows of seats which formed the back part of the structure. In the case of the Theatre of Marcellus and its neighbours, the low level of the Campus Martius may well have deterred

the builders from such a solution. Again, the quantities of alluvial sand in the near-by bed of the Tiber were available for banking up the seats of the auditorium if desired. But the actual development took another course. Once having become accustomed to the free-standing structures that had originated in wood, the Romans demanded the same type in stone, regardless of the expense and labour involved. They can hardly have required the external curved galleries which this form supplied, for the purpose of providing shelter from rain: for this part of the Campus Martius was already well supplied with porticoes. The example is not only illustrative of the stubborn, inflexible Roman mentality, but is also typical of a very widespread tendency in the arts and crafts of all races, the rudimentary or illogical survival of motives that arose naturally in one material, long after that material has been replaced by another and the original reason has been forgotten.

Perhaps it is not too rash to proceed further with the argument and suggest that the great vaults and domes so characteristic of later Imperial Rome would not have arisen if the people had not first become accustomed to spanning considerable spaces with timbers,

when such were to be had in abundance in their part of the peninsula. As deforestation progressed, Necessity became the mother of Invention: brick and concrete eventually came into their own.

IX

THE INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE IMPERIAL FORA

WHEN the Italian government announced its decision to clear the Imperial Fora of the accretions of ages and to reveal the remains of the magnificence of Imperial Rome, one of the questions which arose in the minds of scholars was: what is the probability of finding important inscriptions? For the inscribed stones occupy in our interests a middle ground between literature and art or art-handicraft: through them the past can communicate with men of our day in terms not merely visible but audible as well. And given the unevenly distributed and far from representative character of Latin literature as it has been transmitted, there are vast territories of the Roman past for information in regard to which scholars have learnt to turn to the epigraphical record.

The Imperial Fora had their own special epigraphical traditions. It was in the Forum

of Augustus that the founder of the empire erected a series of statues of the heroes of the olden time, especially the ancestors of the Julian House, elucidated by *elogia*, or records of their merits, in the officially authorized version (73). At a later period it was in the Forum of Trajan that not only statesmen and military commanders but men of letters who had deserved well of the community had their Valhalla and their semblance of immortality. And the monuments to men of letters serve as a reminder of the intense intellectual life that had its centre in these two fora (74): could this have left still further traces of itself in stone?

Again, what stirring events might not have been commemorated by trophies erected on inscribed bases in this noble series of open spaces that included the precinct of Vespasian's Temple of Peace, where were deposited the venerable and half-legendary spoils from Jerusalem? The imagination had no lack of food on which to feed; and until the area of the Temple of Peace, as well as the untouched residue of the other fora, has been completely explored, there is still—to change the metaphor—an “open season” for this form of sport.

But there was no lack of forebodings as well. As regards whole classes of historical and administrative documents, the traditional material was bronze: and how few bronze inscriptions have escaped the melting-pot and the cupidity of those dire times when metallic content seemed of more consequence than did cultural significance! Apart from the marvellous group of bronzes in a small room of the ground-floor of the Naples Museum, the priceless *lex de imperio Vespasiani*, so-called, in the Capitoline Museum, and the Umbrian tablets at Gubbio, it would have been hard to enumerate a half-dozen inscriptions of any length in this material to be seen to-day in Italy. And as for marble, enough was known of the activities of the Renaissance seekers for that requisite, so highly prized not only for its decorative qualities but also because it could be converted into lime, to warrant the gloomiest of forebodings; these were not alleviated by the contemplation of the original Roman Forum, where what was once a wealth of precious manifestations of the Roman spirit is now represented by a few worn and fragmentary remnants.

The Imperial Fora have now been uncovered, at least in large part; the scattered "stones

with letters," numbering 303 in all, have been collected and sorted, and are now accessible in the publication by His Excellence Roberto Paribeni, than whom no more suitable editor could have been found (75); and what is the outcome? Great expectations are at once shattered by the editor's opening words: "The epigraphical harvest—is perhaps more fitted to arouse lamentations than to make us rejoice over brilliant discoveries. A good part of the fragments belonged to monuments, bases, etc., of the Fora themselves; but this only increases our regret, because very frequently it is impossible to obtain even a rough idea of the meaning of the text to which a small surviving fragment belonged. And it is certainly very distressing not to be able to extract something more from texts that resound with great words: *Roma, exercitus, senatus, respublica, rostra, etc.*" Nevertheless, the duty of publishing the *disjecta membra*, such as they were, has been carefully performed; and the results, set forth with the resources of historical scholarship, are not devoid of interest, touching as they do the ancient world at many points.

The repertory includes a certain number of tomb-inscriptions: this is at first sight per-

plexing, since—except for special cases like the imperial mausolea—the burial areas lay outside the city walls; but students of Mediæval Rome have long known that thousands of such stones were brought into the city, as building material and for similar purposes, during the Dark Ages. The tombstones are intruders in the Imperial Fora. There are several Early Christian or Mediæval inscriptions in the yield, which also do not concern the present discussion. But after all the centuries of spoliation and neglect the ruins of the Imperial Fora had still held faithfully in their keeping enough of the inscribed monuments that originally belonged to them to reinforce or to fill out many details in the picture already formed of the interests which manifested themselves in this setting. A few instances must suffice here.

The Forum of Cæsar has yielded a marble slab commemorating a dedication to *Hercules Invictus* by a freedman of the Flavian House; another stone mentions a high official of the guild of musicians who were attached to the public sacrifices; there is a large marble base bearing on its front a dedication to *Diva Sabina Augusta* by the people of Sabratha in Africa, and on one side the statement that in accord-

ance with the command of the emperor Hadrian (though actually after his death) the place for the monument had been assigned by a certain pair of functionaries on the 13th December of A.D. 138. What bond of sympathy had led these distant people to erect their monument to the Empress, a year after her death and five months after that of Hadrian and, moreover, ten years after the Emperor's own African tour? Now the office of the merchants of Sabratha on the public square behind the theatre of Ostia bears on its mosaic floor the representation of an elephant; and this has suggested to Paribeni the ingenious and attractive theory that these people were associated with the importation of wild animals for the imperial menagerie, and with the trade in ivory. Is it possible that the Empress, shamefully neglected as she was by her imperial spouse, in her times of *ennui* found some amusement in observing the African beasts, and that after her death her gracious patronage was not forgotten? Perhaps the learned editor did not expect the suggestion to be taken too seriously: *Se non è vero, almen'è ben trovato!* In any case it is the duty of a sober chronicler to note that the elephant emblem may be nothing more than

the badge of Africa, and if it has a more specific reference to the trading interests of the men of Sabratha, that may be limited, as Paribeni himself suggests, to the traffic in ivory.

Returning to the survey of these inscriptions: the days of the decline of the Western Empire are recorded in the names of Theodosius, Arcadius, Honorius, and Galla Placidia. After several stones which are documentary rather than monumental, and a number of various sorts, the 77 items from the Forum of Cæsar degenerate into the scantiest of fragments, of six, five, or four letters each.

The stones from the Forum of Augustus start in an exalted tone, by reason of the *elogia* to which allusion has already been made, and the general character of which has long been familiar either from Renaissance copies of the originals then known, or from ancient replicas that were set up either in the Basilica Æmilia (76) or in the public spaces of other cities, or from the excavations of the last generation. A bronze foot from the recent undertaking accords well with the statement of one ancient author, that the statues themselves were of bronze; whereas the *elogia* were cut, not actually on the bases of the statues, but on

low plinths of three or four lines only, or on slabs containing a somewhat fuller account of the individual's deeds. The newly discovered fragments are in a pitiful state, but they commemorate some interesting names, both legendary and historical: Aeneas Silvius, grandson of Aeneas; another king of Alba, by name Latinus; Gaius Julius Cæsar Strabo, distant cousin of the great Cæsar, who was killed in Sulla's proscription of 87 B.C.; Gaius Julius Cæsar, the father of the Dictator. The tradition of the *elogia* is continued down to a later date by the praise of Drusus, the younger brother of Tiberius.

Then there are five exquisitely incised fragments from the arch of the younger Drusus that stood beside the Temple of Mars Ultor; a dedication to Mars Ultor of a gilded shield from officers of a legion; a boy on receiving the garb of manhood makes a dedication to the same divinity; other stones bear the names of Trajan and of Julia Domna.

Nerva's Forum, as was to have been expected in view of its more modest dimensions and the ruthless devastation which it underwent in Renaissance times, proved less remunerative; but it furnished the great surprise of the whole undertaking, a strangely grotesque triangular

relief with the representation of the Unconquered Sun in the triangular depression and a brief inscription in his honour running about the margin: a monument of the cult of Mithras in its latest days. The stones from Trajan's Forum were somewhat more numerous and a fair harvest, largely tombstones, was gathered from the Markets of Trajan on the slope of the Quirinal.

As has been indicated, several of the inscriptions from the Imperial Fora are distinctly of a documentary nature—the circumstance that they were cut on stone is in a sense accidental, for they were conceived as documents, and in general they reproduce archetypes on papyrus. More will be said about such inscriptions in the next chapter. But this is the moment to pause and consider the significance of the formal, monumental inscriptions of which the fragments from the arch of Drusus are typical, another good example being that from the front of the Augustan Temple of Castor in the Roman Forum; the scanty fragments of this latter—bits of four marble entablature blocks, with the nine cuttings that once contained bronze letters considerably over a foot and a half high, have recently been identified and assembled on the ground, leaning against the

foundation high above which they once were to be seen (77). Such monumental inscriptions were a special feature of ancient Rome; and their importance is shared by the almost equally formal honorary bases of statues and the dedications connected with offerings. Rome was not only the monumental city, the city of colour, of statues, of fountains: it was also the city of inscriptions. As one walked along its streets or loitered about its open spaces, the eye was constantly caught by the lettering on the fronts of temples and porches, or on the bases of the statues which commemorated the valour and piety of men of old or perhaps the benefactions and ostentation of contemporaries. The sixth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, or the selected material in Dessau's collection, is not only fascinating reading for anyone with a historical or biographical inclination, but forms an integral part of our topographical and monumental apparatus. This aspect of ancient—and, we may add, of Renaissance and modern—Rome is by no means a matter of course, since no other great city has possessed this characteristic in the same degree and kind. The explanation lies only in part in the greater sophistication of these people as compared with the possessors of the

earlier cultures: the practice had its roots in a peculiar bent of the Roman mentality, a legalistic turn, which regarded the spoken phrase and the written word as essential elements in the formal ritual act. Thus, in historical times, the solemn religious function of erecting a temple was not complete, and duly sealed for all the future, unless it was properly expressed in a monumental inscription; honour had not been fully rendered to the deserving citizen until his statue had been erected upon a base provided with the proper inscription; and on the face of his coins the Roman of the Empire expected to find not only the image of the ruler but the superscription as well. In this sense it is neither fanciful nor an exaggeration to attribute a certain magical property to the great inscriptions of Rome: they had their function as sharing in the effort to perform, properly and adequately, the solemn acts to which piety and a sense of obligation prompted their makers. The magic potency, the compelling force, of the inscribed word accompanied and reinforced the deed and the materially creative activity of the donor.

The thought that has been expressed in the last paragraph is perhaps new in this form, and it may at first appear a digression from the

tenor of this discussion. It lies on the threshold of an almost untrodden field of science, the psychological basis of the monuments. It is, however, essential as supplying the explanation both for the presence of these monumental inscriptions in the Roman repertory and for their inclusion in this book.

X

DOCUMENTARY INSCRIPTIONS

A PROMISE made in the previous chapter must now be fulfilled, with the consideration of the class of inscriptions which there was reason to call "documentary," in distinction from the "monumental" ones which have just been brought forward and those of a frankly "unofficial" nature which are to form the subject of the next chapter. The full flavour and value of such records can be derived only from study of the original texts; but even a short résumé of a few rigidly selected instances will indicate the progress which recent years have brought, and may guide historical students to material acceptable for their further pursuits.

First, a document that has been reconstructed, though by no means completely, by means of five fragments of a slab of marble, one of which has long been known and the other four of which were found at the Forum of Cæsar (78). At the top, in large letters, is the heading *Excus]atio magisteri* ("exemption

from the obligations of office," *i.e.* "relief from the responsibilities of providing games, etc. that were traditionally inherent in various magistracies"). Then comes an opening phrase in epistolary form: —*Cæcilio Se]rviliano suo salutem* ("— to his friend Cæcilius Servilianus, greetings"). Then follow the expressions: "Valerius Januarius stated before the meeting——"; "and for this reason I appeal for exemption from this in accordance with the letter of the Deified [Marcus Aurelius?]——"; next the imperial letter is cited: "—] Augustus to Cornelius Proculus and Titius Aqu[ili]nus his friends, greeting." There is mention of "wild beast shows," "hunters," "immunity," "magistrate of a city ward," "games," and so on. All of which has to do with the responsibilities of office, and the efforts on the part of the rulers to afford some relief from the burdens which, already in the second century, were beginning to prove excessive.

A rescript of the emperor Constantine and his three sons has been recovered, on a marble *cippus* from the Forum of Trajan (79): they commend a certain Proculus to the consideration of the consuls, prætors, tribunes of the plebs, and senate. Again, Valentinian and Valens interest themselves in the due erection

of a gilded statue in honour of a certain high official, Taurus by name (80).

Before leaving the Imperial Fora mention must be made of the very timely documentation supplied by finds at Ostia. The port of Rome possessed a great series of marble slabs with records of outstanding events, chiefly in the Capital itself (81). In later ages, towards the close of antiquity, these slabs were re-used for pavements and for similar purposes, and hence, with the methodical investigation of all details of the site, some new fragment comes to light every few years. A part of the rather long section—56 lines, A.D. 108–113—that was first published in 1932 concerns these Fora: for under the year 112 there are the words: “— [on the Calends?] of January the Emperor Trajan dedicated his Forum and the Basilica Ulpia”; and under the next year: “On the fourth day before the Ides of May the Emperor Trajan dedicated [? the Temple of Ven-]us in the Forum of Cæsar and [? the column] in his own Forum.” And the *fasti* of Ostia are hardly less rich in items regarding other regions of Rome, including the dedication of an artificial lake for the holding of sea-fights in A.D. 109 and a restoration of the Cestian Bridge in A.D. 152.

Still another term of respect is to be applied to Rome: it was the city of archives, a vast Hall of Records. Recent events have added considerably to the texts of several of the great chronicles and series of minutes which possessed such intimate associations with the State, its cults and its confraternities: fragments of the triumphal *fasti* of the Regia covering three years about 188 B.C. (82) and also the years 175-172 B.C. (83); from the region to the south of the Aventine, a large portion of a slab inscribed on both sides and containing part of a calendar, a list of consuls and censors from 7 B.C. to A.D. 18, and the names of certain *vicomagistri* of the same period: a time, it should be noted, lying for the most part between the close of Livy's history and the opening of the *Annals* of Tacitus (84).

The long series of minutes of the acts of the Arval Brethren, that ancient religious confraternity, has been augmented by an entry telling of a sacrifice on behalf of the crown-prince Commodus in A.D. 176 (85). And the official account of the celebration of the Secular Games under Septimius Severus has received notable additions (86) of the very greatest interest for matters of historical and

antiquarian information, for—somewhat prolix—details of cult ceremony, and also for the—very fragmentary—text of the hymn which was composed for the occasion by some successor of Horace whose name is unfortunately lost.

The lists of Prætorians have received a considerable addition: over forty names of individuals who obtained honourable discharge from the service in the years 182–6 of our era (87).

At the same time, the interpretation of two of the most famous of all Latin inscribed monuments has advanced: the installation of the base of the column of Duilius—a Claudian revival—in the new Museo Mussolini, gave occasion for a more accurate account of that unique stone (88); and the early *cippus* beneath the Black Stone of the Comitium has received a very reasonable interpretation as a symbolic terminal stone through comparison with the wording of the law in regard to landmarks, an early form of which appears to be carved upon it: “the fact that there was writing on it would make the stone stronger magic whether anybody could read it or not” (89).

XI

UNOFFICIAL INSCRIPTIONS

THE greatest Roman epigraphical surprise of the decade lies in a field quite distinct from those treated in the two preceding chapters. Mention has already been made of a large hall—the Basilica Argentaria—adjoining the Forum of Julius Cæsar. The plan of this hall, which was constructed of concrete and brick and is datable by the evidence of brick-stamps in the time of Trajan, can be seen in Pl. 5, extending in two directions about the western corner of the area; the building shows partly also in the right foreground of Pl. 4, Fig. 1. The excavators found that considerable portions of the stucco facing of the back walls and the pillars of several bays were well preserved and, moreover, that in the stucco there still could be seen scores of inscriptions that had been scratched with some sharp instrument. Such *graffiti*, to use the conventional term, have been found in thousands at Pompeii, but in Rome they are extremely rare, owing to the fact that

the buildings of the Capital were not buried in a sudden cataclysm but slowly disintegrated and became concealed by the rising level of the ground. However, that such *graffiti* did once form a common feature of the stucco walls of some at least of the Roman buildings was already known from discoveries, *e.g.* at the barracks of the seventh cohort of firemen in Trastevere (90), as well as from the famous "mock crucifix" with the name *Alexamenos* from the house on the south slope of the Palatine, now in the Museo Nazionale Romano, not to mention some of the groups at Ostia (91). When the excavators realized the exceptional interest of their discovery they summoned from Pompeii the expert in the deciphering of such delicate, often half-illegible scrawls, Cavaliere Matteo Della Corte, who came and devoted a week to this task: and his masterly publication (92) includes some of the most fascinating pages imaginable. The essence of the matter is condensed in his remarkable Indices.

There are—of course—the greetings of youths to their *innamorate*; memoranda of business transactions; expressions of opinion, complimentary or otherwise, regarding the contemporaries of the several scribes. There are many proper names, mostly suggestive of the

humbler walks of life; but among them is *Cicero*; a reference to gamesters and one to parasites; several names of divinities including *Juppiter*, *Venus V[ictrix?]*, and perhaps *Ceres* and *Quirinus*; some suggestive geographical names with literary associations, like *Mantua*, *Soracte* and *Verona*; references to heroes of mythology.

But—most interesting of all—among the total of 156 *graffiti* there are a certain number which are clearly reminiscent of the labours and the interests of scholars of various degrees of maturity: beginning with two Latin alphabets and a strange jumble of Greek letters that in part at least follow alphabetical order. History seems to be represented by *Hiero*, *Farsalica (sic)*, and *Particus (sic)*; religion and poetry by some of the names already mentioned; Homer by the word *Chryses* which occurs twice in various forms; oratory, as has been seen, by *Cicero*. But it is with Virgil that the interest of these stucco walls reaches its culmination: reminiscences of the first book of the *Æneid* occur seven times, of the second book at least eight times (the prominence of these early books suggests a restricted curriculum, or at least intensive drill on a limited *corpus vile*!), names of Virgilian heroes at least five times; and at three points on the walls occur, respec-

tively, *Mantua me gen-*, *Mantua*, and *rura*: unmistakable evidence that the much-discussed epitaph of the poet was known in Rome at a period far earlier than hitherto could be demonstrated; for while the Trajanic date of the walls serves only as a *terminus post quem*, still the considerations, first, that all these *graffiti*, even if in a sense they are somewhat heterogeneous, still appear to belong in one general period, and, second, that in character and feeling they are hardly to be distinguished from their counterparts on the stuccoed walls of Pompeii, suggest that the Roman school to which the literary *graffiti* are to be assigned was functioning in the first half of the second century of our era. The implications of these *graffiti* to the student of Roman education and of Virgil can hardly be over-estimated: they form an impressive tribute to the hold which Virgilian studies had obtained by the period in question upon the school system of Rome. The labours of Cavaliere Della Corte even hold out the possibility of naming the master, or the succession of masters, of this school: for two of the names which occur repeatedly—*Cæcilius* and *Eros*—might be the nomen and cognomen of the same person, and they suggest comparison with a passage in Suetonius (93)

where there is mention of a *Quintus Cæcilius Epirota*, a person of literary connections in the Augustan age who eventually opened a very select school and was considered to have been the first to give public readings from Virgil and other "new poets" (or, in another meaning of the verb *prælegere*, to lecture on them)—perhaps an ancestor of the schoolmaster of the Basilica Argentaria.

Few grades of society in Imperial Rome remained long without an admixture of Greek letters. This appears in all manner of forms and at all times, and is illustrated in two inscriptions (94), one of which is couched in Greek verse. It commemorates a certain Ammonios, a skilled performer on the lyre, who is mourned by his friends Paulus and Procula. They, or their literary adviser, use seven curiously free Iambic trimeters and dimeters, containing several poetic reminiscences in diction and in thought, as in the contrast between the sweet music that their friend had made when alive and his silence in the tomb. The other Greek inscription originally consisted of sixteen lines, but the last three of these, which probably contained dispositions as to rights in the sepulchral monument, were cancelled; it commemorates

a boy, Marcus Ortorius Eleutherus, aged ten years, three months, and three days; though couched in prose form, this stone too contains poetic reminiscences, but its greatest interest lies in the Egyptianizing nature of its content: *e.g.*, "May Osiris bestow upon thee the cool water."

Epigraphists are not suffered to forget for long that "in the midst of life we are in death." But this chapter may end in a somewhat lighter vein, for the inscriptions can be both grave and — relatively — gay. A gaming-board — *tabula lusoria* — was found a few years ago on the Pseudo-Aventine (95). Such tablets are not rare — about one hundred of them are known — but the new example has several unique features, in particular the "signatures" of its makers, Gaudentius and Leo, and the Constantinian monogram and other Christian "symptoms"; it is to be dated not far from the year 400 of our era. This object, despite its Christian elements, stands in a fairly old Roman tradition: it illustrates — even if in a regrettable manner — what was already known, that when the people of the city became Christians they still continued to be Romans: there is a certain tolerance in the air of Rome: *errasse humanum est*, or rather *dulce est desipere in*

loco. The Church Fathers on occasion expressed disapproval of games of dice and drew an unattractive picture of the evils attendant upon them when carried to an extreme: but the good Gaudentius and Leo and their clients were far removed from the austerities of Puritan Christianity.

XII

THE TEMPLE OF VENUS AND ROME

AFTER these three chapters on the inscriptions it is time to return to the great monuments. Pl. 7, Fig. 2, shows the huge double Temple of Venus and Rome, with its platform and colonnades, taken looking west from the Colosseum, as it appears to-day after the careful and extensive clearing, preservation and restoration which have been bestowed upon it. The present superstructure of the temple is the work of Maxentius (A.D. 307-12), to whom are due also the colonnades, but the greater part of the terrace is Hadrian's construction.

This temple, probably the largest in Rome with the possible exceptions of Caracalla's Temple of Serapis and Aurelian's Temple of the Sun, occupies a commanding position upon the ridge which extends between the extreme spurs of the Esquiline and the Palatine and separates the valley of the Forum from that of the Colosseum. This region, which was traversed by the Sacred Way, experienced

various vicissitudes under the empire: first, Nero occupied it, at least in part, with his earlier palace, the *Domus Transitoria*; next, it was swept by the fire of A.D. 64, after which the same æsthetic and expansive prince exploited its possibilities to the full with a far-reaching scheme of porticoes, offices and palaces, the façade and approaches to his Golden House. Then, when the Golden House had itself become a memory of the past, Hadrian built the great platform and upon it erected his temple to Venus and Rome in accordance with plans drawn by himself. This structure, together with many neighbouring buildings, was in turn destroyed in another conflagration which swept all the quarter, and finally it was restored by Maxentius, a high-minded ruler whose qualities and whose contributions to the maintenance of the city are only now emerging from the obloquy to which they had been consigned by the Christian writers of the Constantinian period: for his lot was cast in a difficult and perplexing time and he was a defender of the losing cause. Like most of the energetic rulers of this city, Maxentius undertook extensive building operations; and in this respect few among either his predecessors or his successors surpassed the achievements of

his five years of rule. His care for Rome, for its people—whose affections he first won and then so tragically lost—and for its venerable traditions, was in part conditioned by the political circumstances of the time, but his sentiments may have been none the less sincere on that account. In this fire-swept area he not only rebuilt the temple but constructed the greatest of all the basilicas, in fact the largest covered edifice of the ancient world—it was completed, in a modified form, by his Christian successor. He “modernized” the whole circuit of the city walls (above, p. 28). And in a small valley three miles outside the gate on the Appian Way he constructed a group of monuments, including the Mausoleum of his son Romulus and a circus, the towering remains of which are still among the wonders of Rome. Not only did he restore the temple with which this chapter is concerned, but he named his son Romulus primarily after Romula, a grandmother of the child’s own mother, but at the same time after the first king of Rome, and he paid especial attention to the cult and the memorials of the Divine Twins, the Founders of the City, and their Father Mars. He is styled on some of his coins “Preserver of the City of Rome,” while others bear

allusions to the Wolf, the Twins, the Goddess Rome and her Temple, and Mars. At few periods has the cult of Rome the City been so emphasized as it was in the closing days of paganism, and by the ill-fated ruler whom his recent biographer has styled "the last one among the Roman emperors who wished to be a Roman" (96).

The terrace on which the temple stands measures over 450 by 300 feet—an enormous mass of concrete with the use of travertine to bear the weight of walls and columns; it served to rectify the slope of the hill toward the valley of the Colosseum; and eventually, when the Basilica of Maxentius had assumed a place in the group, the line that had started with the Imperial Fora stretched in an incomparable series of colonnaded spaces and monumental structures all the way from the Temple of the Deified Trajan to the open area about the Colosseum.

The temple itself, as already stated, was one of the largest in Rome, and its restoration by Maxentius followed the lines of Hadrian's structure which, by reason of the apsidal niche at the back of each of its addorsed cellæ, has already been mentioned in the chapter (VII) on "The Apse in the Roman Temple" (p. 59).

The circumstance that this edifice too was designed for the cults not of traditional state divinities but of the goddess of the Julian House and of the city of Rome may be taken as confirmation of the view expressed in that chapter, that the apse originated in domestic or at least personal shrines. Even as late as the time of Hadrian, it may have appeared unorthodox to establish the cult of Venus within the pomerium (see pp. 60-1): but the combination "Venus and Rome" laid emphasis on her association with Roman origins; while the choice of this particular site for the double temple was otherwise well reasoned: the small ridge was still lying in comparative neglect, after the Flavians had restored the Palatine on one side of it and built the Colosseum on another, and first Titus and then Trajan had constructed their Baths not far distant. The temple and its terrace were needed to complete the work of restoring to the Roman people the central area of their city that had been usurped, according to the official version of his successors, by the Tyrant Nero.

The western cella is at present undergoing a partial restoration: it was once adorned with columns of rich porphyry, and contained a colossal statue of the same material, of which a

number of fragments have been found : whether a goddess or an imperial personage, the official report, when it appears, may perhaps tell. As the Plate shows, a number of the great monoliths have been re-erected which formed the colonnades enclosing the temple platform on its sides toward the Sacred Way and the Oppian respectively. Recent investigations have shown that these columns extended only along the two sides, not across the ends of the area. The disposition of the series of steps on the front facing the Colosseum must have formed an impressive feature in the view from that monument, as well as at the moment when visitors to Rome, after arriving from the South by the Appian Way and passing through the valley between the Palatine and the Cælian, went by the Arch of Constantine and came to the Meta Sudans, the meeting-place—as it seems—of four or five of the Augustan regions. The re-erection of the monoliths has restored the element of verticality which had been felt to be lacking ; but, as might have been foreseen, what is now missed is the horizontal corrective that was once afforded by the long lines of the entablatures which they supported ; and one looks in vain for the glistening marble columns, entablature and

pediment for which all the rest was to serve as the setting, and the richness of which, in the Hadrianic building, is suggested in two fragments of a representation in relief in the museums.

XIII

TRADES, CRAFTS, PROFESSIONS

THE pages of history had been, until a couple of generations ago, so fully occupied with the resounding if not always significant deeds of "the captains and the kings" that the voices of the humbler folk had been almost drowned out: but in recent times the more lowly elements in the population of Rome have to some extent come to their own—glimpses at least are afforded of the activities and the mentality of the hundreds of thousands of artisans, craftsmen, tradespeople and professional folk on whom the life of the great city depended for its continuity. The tens of thousands of simple tomb-inscriptions in the sixth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* lend themselves, within limits, to statistical exploitation. The numerous portraits from the tombs seem to greet us with something of intelligence and sympathy across the ages. And the new finds at the cemetery of the port of Rome, on the Island of the Tiber (see below, pp. 124-5), include

a priceless series of terra-cotta tablets, inserted in the exterior walls of the tombs, representing, with a degree of vividness that would hardly have been considered possible in such crude art, characteristic moments in the conduct of the various vocations whose devotees were buried within (97). The intimate relations that existed between the port and the Capital which it served justify the inclusion of these reliefs here.

A surgeon is performing two of the operations which doubtless were most frequently demanded of his profession: assisting at a birth, and treating a bad leg. There is the whole stock-in-trade of an ironmonger's establishment, with the proprietor at his counter and his apprentice near him hard at work adding to the store of finished objects. A cutler is shown in the very act of sharpening a knife; another is tempering a knife in a tank of water; a street vendor of fresh water is making his rounds; the shelves of a potter's shop are heavily laden with jugs for sale; a mill is in operation, while on another slab the boat is depicted that is bringing the grain safely to shore. The series is completed by some marble reliefs also found at Ostia,

showing a wineshop, a butcher's establishment, and a shop where vegetables are for sale.

When some residents of the Janiculum were digging for the foundations of their house, they found among other things a tombstone, brought there from some other point at an indeterminable time, with five lines of lettering which proved to be of a certain interest for this very matter of arts and crafts (98). One Publius Clodius Diophan[es?] had erected a monument for himself, his wife, and two freedmen. He styles himself *patron[us]*, and the letter *V* prefixed to the names of the two freedmen indicates that they were alive, and inversely that he and his wife were dead, at the time that the stone was cut: probably an instance of manumission by testamentary disposition. But a greater significance is given to the stone by the word *glutinarius* which is applied to the *patronus*: here was a minute nucleus in the Roman economic system, consisting of manufacturers of glue. This commodity had distinguished associations in the ancient world: it was not only used for the routine work of the joiners but, as circumstances might suggest, for the preparation of

papyrus, the paper of the ancients, and for the ivory inlay and joining that entered into the making of some of the most famous cult-statues. Moreover, these were interests in which various members and generations of the Clodian family specialized; for one other inscription is known of a Clodius who styles himself *glutinarius*, and two of Clodii who worked in, or traded in, ivory. In preparing the inscription from the Janiculum for publication, it was tempting to search further for the industrial interests of the Clodii; and it developed that one or another of the name—generally former slaves of some member of the house, or slaves of their former slaves in turn,—was associated with silver-ware, jewellery, pearls, the purple dye, incense—all of them in greater or less degree articles of luxury, some of them imported from the East. As was usual in this stratum of society, the cognomina—e.g. in *P. Clodius P. l. Metrodorus*—indicate Oriental origin: the old Roman families had largely died out, and in any case their members showed slight interest in small industrial undertakings.

—A new society to those accustomed to Cicero's aristocratic clients and to the long

lines of ancestry that were lauded in the *Æneid*; individuals engaged in trades and crafts, bearing Roman *prænomena* and *nomina*, but whose *cognomina*—when given—betray Oriental birth, while in some cases the abbreviation *L.* states that they were freedmen. Where have we met them before? Or have we heard of their colleagues of an earlier generation?

Acts XVIII, 1-3: "After these things (Paul) departed from Athens, and came to Corinth. And he found a certain Jew named Aquila, a man of Pontus by race, lately come from Italy, with his wife Priscilla, because Claudius had commanded all the Jews to depart from Rome; and he came unto them; and because he was of the same trade, he abode with them, and they wrought; for by their trade they were tentmakers."

At all times, the demands of a common humanity establish a bond between the high and the low. Perhaps the most remarkable of all the reliefs that have been mentioned (pp. 115-6) from the cemetery of Portus representing various professions and crafts is that which depicts a child-birth (99). The mother is seated on a chair with low back and sides,

while the physician, crouching before her, is aiding the delivery, and an attendant supports her from behind. This crude representation has suggested what—though I propose it with great diffidence—may prove to be the true explanation for the two well-known seats of the rare stone from the promontory of Tænarum in Laconia known as *rosso antico* now in the Vatican and the Louvre (100). They once formed part of the collection of antique objects that were to be seen during the Middle Ages at the Lateran, and they were actually used in connection with the installation of the newly-elected Popes (101); there was a vague tradition that they had been found outside Porta Maggiore. These thrones are remarkable not only for their precious material but also for the fact that the seats are hollow. The third known example with hollow seat, now in the British Museum, has the representation of a wheel in relief on each side, suggesting the form of a wheeled “bath-chair”; as it was found in the Baths of Caracalla, it presumably performed a definite function in that environment—but, we may suggest, of a medical character, for medicine was often practised in these great establishments. It appears errone-

ous to associate such seats either with the usual operations of the bath or with the installations of the latrines. Such *sellæ pertusæ* or *in apsidis speciem perforatæ* (102) in the authors have in fact on occasion medical or clinical associations; and the details of the representation on the newly-discovered relief suggest that the seat there represented is likewise hollow. For normal clinical purposes light, or at least portable, seats appear indicated. Apart from theatres and other monumental structures, seats of stone must always have been exceptional (103), and clinical seats of stone especially so; moreover, the fact that the specimen from the Baths of Caracalla is of another choice material, *pavonazzetto*, confirms the idea that these were no ordinary objects: the one from the Baths of Caracalla was worthy of its environment. Certainly few private households would have included such objects of *rosso antico*: the somewhat similar porphyry was quarried in antiquity at only one remote place, was an imperial monopoly, and was preferred for the uses of the imperial house (R. Delbrück, *Antike Porphyrwerke*, 1-2, 11). Remembering the Byzantine associations of "being born in the purple," one is tempted

to suggest that the red seats played an important part in the proceedings connected with the birth of imperial princes.

But all this is—as yet—hypothetical; and fancied imperial associations must not be allowed to intrude further in this chapter; for the humble Romans again claim attention. There is an epigraphical monument of what may be considered a less solemn nature than some which were discussed in previous chapters: it has been known for many years, but has only very recently yielded its meaning (104). In a certain mosaic of the second century, depicting a scene from the boxing-arena, the exultant trainer of the successful contestant is provided with the words A·MEL|AT·TI|CV; his “opposite number,” with A·LAPO·NI|VICTVS·ES. Our predecessors had assumed that each of these groups of letters must conceal a proper name; and with some diffidence they suggested for the first the unconvincing combination *Amel(ius?) Atticu(s)*, while their reading of the second, *Alaponi, victus es*, might have passed but for the almost unique name *Alaponius*. As ill luck would have it, it is in fact possible to cite authority for the suspicious names, or at least for the first one: both

Amelius (Greek, and rare in classical Latin) and *Alaponius* are represented by articles in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinæ*, although for the present purpose doubts as to *Alaponius* are not allayed by a careful reading of the second article. But in addition, in order to follow these readings, it is necessary to assume the loss or suppression of almost two-thirds of one name and of the final S of another.

The solution is simpler. MEL is the word for "honey"; *mel atticum* means "Attic honey"; the initial A is the exclamation "Ah!" And what more felicitous form of words could greet the ears of a successful prize-fighter from his faithful trainer than "Ah! Real Attic honey!" As for the words uttered over his discomfited opponent, *victus es* must of course stand; A again means "Ah!" and if the mosaicist was capable of omitting the final M in one instance, there might have been an omission of the same letter at some point in the middle of LAPO·NI. *La(m)-ponius*, in the vocative case, yields a satisfactory result: an Italian commander Lamponius played a prominent part in the revolt of the allies in the early 'eighties B.C., came within an ace of capturing Rome itself, was

with his fellows smashingly defeated by Sulla just outside the Colline Gate, and then ignominiously fled and disappeared: "Ah, you regular Lamponius, you're beaten!"

XIV

OSTIA AND THE PORT OF ROME

THE name of Ostia has already made its appearance in these pages; and unavoidably so, for the relations between Ostia and Portus on the one hand and the Capital on the other were so intimate that the picture of Rome would not be complete if Ostia had been omitted. Moreover, developments near the mouth of the Tiber during these last years have been so far-reaching and of such interest as to demand attention on their own merits, especially as they fill out a certain number of gaps in the information which Rome itself supplies: as already intimated, the state of abandonment in which the harbour towns lay during the Middle Ages made it possible for many details of town-planning, housing, and the like to survive which the constant occupation of Rome tended to obliterate.

There are to-day two mouths of the Tiber; between them is the Island which was formed when the Romans cut a canal connecting a

great bend of the river directly with the sea: the left, southern, branch is the original river, the right one the canal. Ostia itself is the old port just within the original Tiber mouth, about sixteen miles from Rome; Portus, the new, relatively small harbour town, with its two ports connected with the canal, an outer larger one formed by the two jetties and the miniature island at the entrance due to Claudius, and the inner hexagonal port of Trajan. A monumental inscription of Claudius (105), still to be seen as re-erected beside the modern road to Portus, states that that prince, who appears to have acted at times more coherently than he thought and spoke, "by running ditches from the Tiber for the construction of a port, and giving them an outlet to the sea, freed the City from the danger of floods." The interpretation of this slightly involved imperial sentence as evidence for the construction not only of the port but of the canal is still, I believe, the natural one, though the silence of the authors, together, perhaps, with the continued prosperity of the original Ostia, has suggested that the activity of Claudius with regard to the arrangements at this place was limited to the establishment of a harbour on the shore, several miles up the

coast from the old Tiber mouth, to serve for a refuge in bad weather and for the transshipment of cargoes which then, on smaller craft, passed through Ostia itself; it being left for Trajan to supply the canal (106).

The history of the excavation and investigation of Ostia is a long one, and has been recorded elsewhere (107); but it is one of the great merits of the Director of the Excavations, Dr. Guido Calza, that his tenacity of purpose and clearness of vision, through well-nigh twenty years, have produced a more adequate picture of this site than scholarship has acquired of any other town of ancient Italy, except the buried cities of Campania, the history of which was cut short in A.D. 79. As the extensive campaigns of exploration have gone on, there has been revealed one feature after another of the town of imperial times; and the Ostia of the Republic too has become familiar in many of its details. An admirable sense of propriety in the maintenance of the ruins, the arrangement of sculptured fragments amid the foliage which is the best adornment of ancient remains, has greatly added to the effectiveness of the place. The most remarkable monumental find of recent years has been the great baths near the Forum, comparable

to the splendid establishments of the Capital; the houses and granaries will be mentioned in another connection (Chapter XV, pp. 137-40); the evidence as to the people of Portus which the great cemetery area on the Island, near the north branch of the river, has yielded, has already been in part presented (pp. 114-6, 118-9).

Dr. Calza's own résumé of his work is so impressive, and so illuminating, as to justify its inclusion in its essential features at this point.

The former method of excavating such isolated groups of ruins as gave promise of "results," to the neglect of ruins that seemed at the time less important, has been abandoned; and efforts have been focussed on the search for (1) the street-plan, monuments and buildings of the city of imperial times, (2) the area covered by the city in the earlier period, with the republican monuments, and (3) the "origins of Ostia" and their relation to the tradition in Virgil and the other authors.

The excavated area of the imperial city has been carried in an uninterrupted sweep from the theatre as far as the seaward side of the Forum, has included more than twenty-five acres of land, and has yielded a precise town-plan of the city between the *decumanus* (prin-

cipal street or major axis) and the Tiber. More than forty streets have been uncovered, parallel and at right angles to the *decumanus* and *cardo* (minor axis): the result of official Roman surveying. A special feature is a colonnade running about the open square behind the theatre, with the seventy-odd offices of the various commercial corporations. A large city block between the familiar "four republican temples" on one common base and the characteristic flour mills contains great warehouses with some hundred rooms for storing grain, an establishment of the early first century of the empire, enlarged or remodelled in the third century. Valuable additions have been made to the known series of private houses.

The monumental aspect too of Ostia is being more and more revealed: it was a splendid, prosperous city, its life centring about the Forum, which was dominated by the Capitoline Temple on the north and the Temple of Rome and Augustus on the south; a basilica, curia and other ornate edifices were in the immediate neighbourhood, as well as the above-mentioned baths.

But it is with regard to the republican city and the still earlier period that special efforts

have been made to enlarge the bounds of knowledge; and with valuable results, positive in the first instance and negative in the second. In order to ascertain the extent of the wall of the Sullan period, no less than two hundred test digs were made; it was thus possible to trace the whole wall, which consisted of five sides meeting in obtuse angles, with a circuit of 5,500 feet. The construction is of "pseudo-reticulate," with tufa quoins on three sides but tufa parallelepipeds on the north. These walls, which there is every reason to assign to the time of Sulla (ground level, technique of construction, general historical probability), were already neglected and dismantled in the first century of the empire. At the north-east corner there is a massive tower, of ashlar with bossed tufa blocks; and the presence of other tufa blocks to its west for a distance of about 100 feet, parallel to the Tiber, makes it probable that these defences extended along the bank of the stream. It has been possible to identify several gates (the names are conventional): the *Porta Romana* to the east; the *Porta Laurentina*, at the southern end of the *cardo*; the *Porta Marina*, at the seaward end of the *decumanus*. For the final 900 feet of the circuit

at the northern end of the western side, the wall is missing: perhaps it was at some time swept away or engulfed by the sea, or the unruly river. All the gates just mentioned are of the same period as the construction of the walls themselves. The Sullan city thus outlined covered some hundred and seventy acres of ground: it was almost as large as the Ostia of the empire. It already had the characteristic street-plan, and various monumental structures, small temples, at least two houses of the familiar type with atrium, and numerous burials flanking the high-roads outside the gates, all at a lower level than the structures of the time of the empire.

As regards the fabled origins of Ostia, or a previous settlement on or near the same spot, nothing decisive has been found, since the two or three fragments from the sixth or fifth century B.C. in the new Antiquarium of Ostia are very slight evidence: perhaps these early happenings are to be classed beside those things in Roman pre-history which Livy (108) considered "more suitable for poets' tales than for the untainted records of events," and which the discreet historian therefore "had it in mind neither to assert nor to refute." In compensation, a clearly attested record has

been gained of the early stages of the city which we know. At the old mouth of the Tiber there arose at the end of the fourth century B.C. a strongly fortified citadel. Whatever may have existed here before that time, the function assumed by the historical Ostia, indicated both by the ancient authors and by the logic of historical circumstances, begins only with the establishment of this, the first Roman colony on the sea. Its date is given by the evidence of the fortifications and of the ceramic finds; it formed a rectangle occupying the centre of the later city; the enclosing wall is entirely similar in both material and technique to the portions of the republican wall of Rome in scoriated tufa (p. 20), the level of this city is that of the virgin sand, and a dating at about 330 B.C. is confirmed by the fictile objects found in this connection, "Etrusco-Campanian" products derived from the refuse or the destruction of a temple. This early citadel measures 630 × 390 feet, and a large part of its wall is preserved; portions were incorporated in buildings of the imperial age and were always visible; the two gates on the *decumanus* were respected until conditions compelled a raising of the ground level. The existence of this military colony

can never have been forgotten in ancient times.

The significance of such an archæological site is greatly enhanced if suitable provision has been made for the preservation and exhibition of the portable finds in the immediate vicinity of the monumental remains themselves. As already implied, at Ostia, this has been admirably accomplished through the instalment of an "Antiquarium" which is at the same time a model of new and improved methods of showing sculpture and minor objects; many a director of a great museum would profit by a visit to these five small rooms, for he would carry away new and stimulating ideas as to lighting, wall-tinting, and arrangement. More visitors than one have felt that it was here for the first time, with the wonderfully diffused light and the absence of distracting elements, that they had actually seen and felt the qualities of modelling and the tactile values in Roman marble portraiture.

XV

DWELLING-HOUSES, SHOPS, AND WARE- HOUSES

PL. 7, Fig. 1, exhibits one of the greatest surprises of recent years. The demolitions incident to the construction of the Via del Mare (p. 42) revealed, at the north-west corner of the Capitoline Hill, against the western face of which it was built, part of a brick apartment-house of at least six stories, well preserved and dating in its present form from the second century of our era. A large portion of it lies below the present street level, hence a photograph of Ingegnere Italo Gismondi's carefully constructed model has been chosen for illustration. Until a few years ago, such a structure would have been unheard of in archaeological circles, although now that Ostia of the imperial age has revealed several large apartment-houses of three or four stories, similar remains have been recognized in the city of Rome itself and, in fact, not far from the house of the Capitoline the systematizing of

the east side of the Piazza Venezia has disclosed considerable remains of two large buildings, one of which, of the third century, belongs to the same general class—if not a group of residences, then a series of shops or a warehouse (*cf.* p. 38),—while the other, of the second century, gave to its excavators an impression of greater nobility (109). A careful perusal of the ancient authors shows that these discrete forerunners of the “sky-scraper” type were by no means a rarity either in Rome or in other populous cities of the Mediterranean.

The ancients called such a building an *insula*, and the one here illustrated fits admirably into the scheme of ancient life as the last few years have revealed it to scholars. The origins of the *insulæ* at Ostia have formed the subject of a detailed study by Dr. Philip Harsh (110); and his workmanlike account of this particular house shows so well its “points,” and the elements which enter into the modern discussion of these dwellings, that it may be quoted at length.

The complete publication of this house has not yet appeared, and it is still uncertain whether this building belongs to the type with central cortile or to that without.

Viewing this *insula* from the modern thoroughfare, one sees the façade of the second floor (partly restored) and above, parts of the inner walls of the third, fourth and fifth floors. The ground and first floors are below the present level, but the balcony in masonry, resting on travertine consoles, may be observed. This whole façade may have faced a court, and there may have been a similar block on the W. side of that court (some remains attributed to this block were found, according to the preliminary report). One may still observe that the block did continue on the N. at an obtuse angle to the large block already described. The disposition of the building on the S. is also uncertain, although it is at least clear that the third story did not extend on the S., but came to a definite end. This *insula* is in part a terrace structure, since the third floor is much deeper than the lower floors, resting partly on native rock. The building certainly consisted of at least six stories. As usual, the ground floor of this *insula* is occupied with shops, and the first floor with rooms above the shops with a single window. The second floor is divided into large rooms, each with two or three windows on the façade and a vaulted ceiling. The third floor,

being deeper, is not divided into a single row of rooms, but into a row of apartments. These apartments are approached through a long, common corridor at the rear, off of which open individual corridors for each of the apartments, which are usually divided into three rooms. The room on the W. alone lies on the façade. The two rear rooms were illuminated, but very poorly, by windows in the division walls and usually by slit windows opening on to the next corridor. The fourth floor (and presumably the fifth) was laid out in a somewhat similar manner (?). It is noteworthy that the long corridor at the rear of the third floor and the back rooms of each apartment must have been very dark indeed.

The uncovering of a characteristic city quarter, the Markets of Trajan, deserves fuller appreciation than could be accorded it in the chapter on the Imperial Fora (pp. 49-50). Its builders took advantage of the slopes of the Quirinal and of the successive terraces which it was possible to systematize at this point; the lines of the semi-circular apse of Trajan's Forum were continued first in a two-storied arcade and then, behind it and at a higher

level, another similar series of rooms, also in two stories; then came the course of the Via Biberatica, parts of which also were flanked by rooms; and beyond this thoroughfare and at a still higher level, were other groups of rooms, rectangular in plan, and in particular a large covered hall. The precise destination and functioning of all these rooms cannot be determined; some were doubtless storehouses for commodities, while others served for the transaction of business and affairs of various sorts.

The material which has been accumulating as to the history of the ancient dwelling (111), and in particular the tenement-houses, shops, and warehouses of Rome and the Roman world, is so vast as far to exceed the limits of a chapter in this little volume. Moreover, it has been carefully presented and interpreted, first by Dr. Calza in his—literally—epoch-making studies occasioned by the finds at Ostia, and then, from various angles, by the above-mentioned American investigator and by representatives of various nations—the Englishman Carrington, the Italian Maiuri, the Swede Boëthius (112). So that the specialist is already well provided with technical

discussions, and the general reader will desire not an enumeration of various examples but a clear summing up of the essential facts.

It has become increasingly evident that the traditional picture of the "Roman dwelling," based as it was partly on the precepts of Vitruvius and partly on the remains of Pompeii, was a very incomplete and one-sided one: the *domus*, or "atrium house," centring upon the impluvium and the air-space above it—the compluvium, from which it derived light and air,—not only was an aristocratic mansion to which the great masses of the city population could never aspire, but from the standpoint of utility could not compete indefinitely with other types. Beside the *domus* there always were simpler town dwellings, conditioned by the street-frontage from which they derived their light and air; as early as the last century of the republic the main streets of the central Italian towns were lined with vaulted structures in which shops and upper-story rooms were combined. Another element, determining the features of a great number of dwelling-houses, was the open court, which in one form or another must always have existed in both country and city throughout the Mediterranean area: in many

houses it was a source of light and air. Still another influence, which has been clearly defined by Dr. Harsh's labours, is the Greek type of court surrounded by corridors and generally with a large, high room on the side opposite to the entrance. One of the fascinating features of the dwelling-houses of Ostia and Rome is the intermingling of these diverse influences, combined with the urge to verticality which resulted from the increase in population: for Ostia was a city the limits of which had been fixed once for all by the Sullan wall (pp. 129-30): outside that line there lay an area of tombs, which were respected throughout antiquity; and something similar was true of the Capital itself, with its great cemetery areas outside the fourth-century republican wall. The result was a type, or rather several types, of dwelling which in various ways anticipated the houses of the Italian communes of the Middle Ages. Here, as in other matters, it is not necessary to look exclusively toward Byzantium for the origins of Mediæval culture: Mediæval Europe was the heir of Rome.

In speaking of the houses, we have mentioned the shops which constituted a familiar feature of the street-fronts. The warehouses

partook partly of the nature of these shops—series of rooms fronting on the streets—in part they were constructed about large courts: the fine examples to be seen at Ostia have their counterparts on the official marble plan of Rome.

XVI

ORIENTAL CULTS

PL. 8, Fig. 1, shows one of a group of more than twenty statuettes, reliefs, inscriptions, etc., which came to light in the summer of 1935 as the result of the construction of a drain at the Via di San Domenico on the Aventine and have been taken to a room in the Antiquarium of the Cælian. They have associations with Oriental cults, especially with that of Jupiter Dolichenus, the Syrian Baal, and his consort. They were found in a large room of an ancient building, and even when individual objects had been broken it proved possible to find all the fragments and thus reconstruct the stones; their appearance when found suggested that they were not in their original position in a sanctuary but had been put away together for some purpose at a time subsequent to their ceremonial functioning. The regionary catalogues of the fourth century mention a *Dolocenum* (*sic*) as existing in the Aventine region, and this information had already been con-

firmed by the finding of inscriptions on the north-western part of the hill, near Santa Sabina and Sant' Alessio. These inscriptions also indicated the third century as the flourishing period of the sanctuary and its cult: the name of Commodus which occurs on one of the recent finds merely gives the date for the earliest members of the group, seeing that these pieces are heterogeneous in style, and that the individual dedications may well have extended over a considerable span of time. A colossal hand probably belonged to the cult statue itself. The relief here reproduced shows at the middle a flaming altar, and over this is an eagle, holding the thunderbolt; above the eagle are the busts of Serapis and Isis; to the left of the altar is Jupiter Dolichenus standing on his bull and holding in his right hand the double axe and in his left the thunderbolt, while to the right is his consort (styled "Juno" in the inscription) standing upon a hind; in the upper corners were two small busts. Some of the inscriptions give lists of devotees.

The cult of Jupiter Dolichenus and that of his consort enjoyed a wide vogue throughout the empire, vying for a time with that of

Mithras, the Persian Sun-god, which next claims consideration by reason of the find about to be described.

This large marble relief, almost intact, and measuring about five by three feet, is represented on Pl. 8, Fig. 2; it is one of the most elaborate and important representations of Mithras that are known. It was found, together with a large part of the equipment of a sanctuary of the God, amid constructions of the close of the third century of our era which had arisen within a large second-century edifice near the north-west end of the valley of the Circus Maximus (113).

It presents a curious unevenness in execution, and the effect of the sculpture was to have been aided by colour and probably by gilding as well. It was carved upon a stone that had already been used once: on the top of a corner block of a cornice. The holes for attachment at sides and top show that it was set against a wall; the bottom probably rested on a base. The inscription in characters of perhaps the third century, on the top border, states that it was dedicated to the Unconquered Sun God, Mithras, in fulfilment of a vow. The relief itself is dominated by the central group,

Mithras slaying the bull; most of the secondary figures are familiar from other representations of the scene (information in regard to which is accessible in the works of Professor Franz Cumont); but there are several points in which this relief shows a greater degree of originality than was to have been expected: the grotto has lost its prominence as compared with the mountain; the stars are not seven but four in number; the scene of sacrifice is combined with that of dragging the bull along; the lizard is a new arrival in this environment.

Another important Mithraic monument was found at Domitian's Alban Villa in the circumstances that are to be narrated in the chapter on Art (XIX, pp. 162-3). It is a statue of the monstrous Lion-Headed God, with several unusual features. The creature has not only four wings but four arms as well; instead of the large serpent that is usually coiled about his body there are two small ones creeping up the rocks beside him. The horror is enhanced by the accessory figures: hydra, horned lion, Cerberus; by the great eye on the monster's chest, and by the lion's head at his waist and the two lions' heads at his knees: a veritable

nightmare, made still more repellent by the superior artistic skill which was expended upon its fabrication (114).

An impressive group of statuettes, all in fragments and in a state of great confusion as if assembled for a lime-kiln, was found in 1929 at a point about four miles out from Rome to the left of the Appian Way; they have been taken to the Museo Nazionale Romano (115). Not only divinities and heroes of the classical pantheon appear here, but such Oriental gods and goddesses as the Ephesian Artemis, Mithras and his attendants, and Astarte: this latter divinity appearing—testified by an inscription, with epithet “Most Exalted”—on an attractive bas-relief of archaistic style, equipped with two pairs of wings, with uræus and solar disc on her head, and standing upon a lion: an interesting fusion of both religious and artistic elements, for the attributes are partly those of Isis, partly of Cybele, and the artist was acquainted with the conventions of the “Neo-Attic” school of several centuries earlier than his time: this relief appears to belong to an earlier phase of art than most of its companions. There are also several inscriptions to the Phrygian god Zeus Bronton, one of which is dated A.D. 241-4

by the mention of Gordianus and Tranquillina, while another records the fulfilment of a vow that was contingent on a safe return home. The find-spot adjoins the great Villa of the Quintilii, which was seized by Commodus and appears to have remained in the possession of the imperial house for a long lapse of time. The presence in this hoard of a head of a mid-third-century empress and the names of the two imperial consorts which date the above-mentioned inscription lend probability to the suggestion that all this Orientalizing material derives from cults practised by Phrygian servants or soldiers of the imperial house of that time: part of it may well have been brought from other places and from previously existing shrines.

These objects from Oriental sanctuaries have far more solemn and significant associations than were appreciable by Juvenal, when near the beginning of the second century he satyrized the life in Rome of his day as he saw it, and gave vent to his annoyance at the presence of Orientals with their outlandish ways which he made no effort to comprehend, and for whose faults alone he had a keen eye: "Now for a long time the Syrian Orontes has been flowing

into the Tiber! "(116) Not only the books of the Old Testament, but the marvellous archæological discoveries of the nineteenth century and more especially of the past decades, have revealed the serious nature of the Oriental cultures, and the nobility of their religious concepts and cults. The time has come for a less provincial attitude toward the throngs of Egyptians, Phœnicians, Syrians, Phrygians, Chaldæans, Parthians, and the rest, together with their gods with strange names, than was accorded them by the Romans. Though one should not forget that several of these cults made triumphal progress through the length and breadth of the empire in the wake of the imperial eagles—Mithras and Zeus Dolichenus were soldiers' gods—and it was in the sign of the Cross that one of the most astute, if not the greatest, of the later emperors won his crowning military victory. The time has come for a different attitude toward the art of the makers of these religious sculptures than that adopted by the critics of the nineteenth century: for it is the duty of historical scholarship to look beneath the surface crudities, and the imperfect adaptation of old formulæ to new uses, and to grasp the message with which

these often imperfect media were entrusted. The student who in a spirit of reverence attempts this will find in this field of late ancient art a new language, new formulæ, and sometimes new forms of beauty.

XVII

THE PRÆTEXTATUS MUSEUM, AND ROMAN SARCOPHAGI

ON the left side of the Appian Way, some twenty-five minutes' walk beyond the gate in the Aurelian Wall, are the Catacombs of Prætextatus, dating from as early as the middle of the second century after Christ. Here there has been a very interesting development, due to the fact that the makers of the Christian catacombs burrowed deeply under a pagan burial ground (1117). An enormous quantity of fragments of pagan sarcophagi, almost all of the third century of our era, had been found in the catacombs, where they had fallen from the upper level. These were collected in a small museum constructed on the spot, consisting of an open-air rectangular court or garden surrounded by a portico. The task of sorting out these innumerable fragments and attempting a reconstruction of the various sarcophagi was entrusted to Dr. Margarethe Gütschow, who had been commissioned by

the German Archæological Institute with the preliminary work for the *corpus* of Sarcophagi. The Commission of Sacred Archæology placed at her disposal a staff of marble-workers and masons for the purpose. No less than seven large sarcophagi have up to now been recovered: unfortunately, none of them complete; but since the catacombs are known to be still rich in marble fragments, there is hope of further progress.

The best piece is a large sarcophagus of white, coarse-grained island marble, its cover being in the form of a couch with the reclining figures of husband and wife. The front shows scenes from their life, including their marriage and their solemn offering in gratitude for some military success—he is clad as a commander and is crowned by Victory, while they are surrounded by Honos, Virtus and Fortuna. The character of the portrait heads, the treatment of heads and beards, and the general style indicate a date shortly before the middle of the third century.

Another large sarcophagus of the same Greek marble, in high relief, bears the representation of a hunt; the treatment is admirably fresh for this late period. A child's sarcophagus of Attic origin has a series of charming Bacchic

Cupids, delighting in music and in the juice of the grape.

One monument shows the familiar symbolic use of Nereids, and in the middle two sea-centaurs supporting a shell which contained the two portraits; the ovals on the ends have *genre* scenes, with rocks and shrines, and fishermen in boats; there are considerable remains of colour. Another sarcophagus has a woman's bust supported on a round base which is adorned with acanthus; behind it is a curtain held by hovering Cupids. An architect was doubtless buried in another, which has the form of a house, complete with roof, its pediment showing representations of compass, hammer and other instruments used in building. There is a second lid in the form of a roof, but unfortunately lacking its body. An earlier period of art, the late Hadrianic time, is represented by a sarcophagus, the front of which shows episodes from the tale of the Argonauts, while on one end there is the myth of the Daughters of Pelias, at the moment when the two daughters are on the point of dismembering their old father in the hope of rejuvenating him through the magic art of Medea (118): this summary, but by no means unsympathetic, adaptation of an original of

the fifth century B.C. is apparently unique in subject and in style among the entire repertory of the sarcophagi.

A glimpse at an obscure field of history and strange aspects of the human mind is afforded by another relief which Dr. Gütschow has ably pieced together from many fragments which were found at various times in different parts of the catacombs (119). It is a slab of Greek marble over five by three feet in dimensions, and may once have been still longer; for it is the front of a sarcophagus, which was adapted by the Christian users of the catacombs to serve, face inward, as the front of a burial recess—hence the exceptional degree of preservation of the surface of the surviving fragments. The date of its execution is shown by stylistic and similar considerations to lie approximately between A.D. 265 and 285. A central panel contains the—illiterate—inscription; to its right was represented the portrait head of a woman, roughly blocked out in the marble with a view to the use of stucco details and colour, set against a curtain which is supported by *putti*; to the left is a scene hitherto practically unique in the repertory of either pagan or Christian art: a group of eleven persons, including at the centre a woman who is under-

going flagellation; the attendant figures are carefully individualized, two of them holding the palm and the standard of victory respectively. Ritual flagellation plays an important part in the mystery cults of the classical world: it generally implies the expulsion of evil, whether physical or spiritual, or the atonement for offences committed, or else is associated with fertility magic. In the present instance, the finding of such a representation in these surroundings at first promised to baffle all efforts at interpretation: but Monsignor Wilpert's profound knowledge of the Christian sarcophagi and related monuments, as well as his shrewd gift of observation, while it has not perhaps rendered all the details intelligible, still has assigned the setting in which, with all probability, this strange representation belongs: some non-orthodox sect, with extreme, perverse views as to the evil inherent in women. Apart from the character of the subject, the artistic conception and execution deserve praise: in Wilpert's words, "the sculpture is one of the works of funerary art of the third century most deserving of consideration."

Further fragments have been placed either in the little garden of the museum, or on the walls of the portico, and they include a

number of interesting pieces, especially as regards portrait heads and hitherto unknown representations.

These remarkable developments at the Prætextatus cemetery have coincided with a period rich in discoveries of sarcophagi: for the building of the modern suburbs has extended far beyond the inhabited area of the ancient city, and has thus resulted in the disclosure of a number of burial places, both pagan and Christian, a certain proportion of which were provided with this form of coffin: many of these have been brought in recent years to the museums, especially to the *Terme*. Fortunately there has been a still further coincidence: for, as suggested above, the German Archæological Institute is at present actively engaged in continuing its great work of a *corpus* of the sarcophagi, in which all these new finds will have a place, while their interpretation will in turn be furthered by the Institute's labours.

Perhaps no branch of art-handicraft illustrates more clearly than these familiar sepulchral monuments the position of Rome as heir to, and interpreter and transformer of, the achievements of earlier cultures. The Romans practised the rites of both cremation and inhumation. We are concerned here,

however, not with ossuaries, the receptacles for the ashes resulting from cremation, but with the stone coffins, the function of which was to preserve intact the bodies of the deceased. In imperial times the poor could dispense with a coffin, or could choose for their material wood or terra-cotta: but marble was preferred by those of certain means, while for the exalted, and especially for imperial personages, costly stones such as porphyry were held to be appropriate. The custom had behind it a long history.

In the classical age of Greece, plain chests of stone are not infrequent: they were buried in the ground. But in Ionia of the sixth century B.C. the use of decoration begins, especially on the painted sarcophagi of Clazomenæ. Then the influence of the Egyptian mummy-cases makes itself felt in the "anthropoid" sarcophagi of the Phœnician areas; while the Etruscans, of whom the Romans were direct heirs, developed a type in which the actual box is adorned with reliefs drawn from a wide repertory, but the lid represents the deceased, or both husband and wife, not dead but as in life, reclining at a banquet. The Greeks had, meanwhile, developed from very primitive notions another concept of the

coffin, the home of the dead; namely, that it was to be fashioned in the form of a house or temple: and this type also exercised a profound influence under the Roman empire. For subjects to be represented in relief on the fronts of the cases, the Romans drew freely not only upon purely symbolical representations but also upon the store of Greek mythology and legend which, however, was accorded an allegorical interpretation: the tale of Psyche is an allegory of the vicissitudes of the soul, the rape of Proserpina is the transport of the soul to eternal bliss, the stream of Ocean with the various sea-creatures suggests the journey to Elysium, and so on (120). Until, with the recognition of Christianity—which did not cremate but inhumed—the doctrines of the new faith are attested by the Good Shepherd and by another cycle of representations, this time from both the Old and New Testaments.

At all periods the bulk and weight of a stone sarcophagus, and the amount of labour involved in its making, guaranteed that its decoration would not be undertaken without serious consideration. In a certain number of these monuments which have a central medallion to contain the portraits of the deceased, the faces are merely blocked out, to

be eventually completed in stucco and—as always—with the use of colour, indicating that the object was to be kept in stock pending enquiries: hence the subjects to be represented on the reliefs were due to the taste not of the individual but of the purchasing public in general. It is clear that the humble stone-cutters to whose hands the execution was entrusted have transmitted to our time a repertory of subjects and ideas of the greatest significance for the attitude of the masses of the population toward Death and Immortality during the second and third centuries of our era, when—as is shown by the increasing preference for interment as compared with cremation—there was a profound shifting of feeling all through the ancient world, a turning from the vanities of the visible universe towards the hopes that centred in the world unseen.

XVIII

EARLY CHURCHES

A SEPARATE chapter is deserved by these monuments, which have now begun to claim the attention of specialists in the Christian field to a degree comparable with the attraction of the catacombs. These early Roman churches were situated in the inhabited quarters of the ancient city, not the public, monumental parts, and each one of them, normally, was erected in or over a house: thus they have preserved a group of city dwellings which now—as was already indicated on p. 137—can be interpreted in the light of knowledge gained at Ostia and elsewhere. Again, the earliest forms of the churches themselves have begun to emerge from amid later accretions, thanks to the care with which investigations are now conducted.

As regards the houses, allusion was made in the chapter on dwellings (p. 137, n. 111) to the remarkable results that have been achieved at Sant' Anastasia, San Clemente, and San

Martino ai Monti; and the very recent discoveries under the pavement of the central nave of the Lateran Basilica are of equal or even greater interest, including as they do important elements of the Constantinian Basilica, remains, documented by inscriptions, of the Barracks of the Equites Singulares of Septimius Severus, and, at a still lower level, four rooms of a house of the first century of our era, decorated with paintings and mosaic floors (121). Investigations among the foundations of the east end of Santa Maria Maggiore have shown that the basilica of the fifth century had no transepts but ended in a semi-circular apse which rested against the triumphal arch (122).

The time has not yet arrived, however, for summarizing in a few pages the results of the activity that is now being devoted to the early churches: it must suffice to call attention to the important series of articles that are appearing, especially in the *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, and to mention one individual monument, the (originally secular) Basilica of Junius Bassus on the Esquiline, which, with its rich decorations, had been known to former generations of archæologists and was then lost to sight; it has now been rediscovered,

together with some adjacent rooms decorated with mosaic pavements and belonging to a private house, and has been worthily published by Professor Giuseppe Lugli in a fully illustrated article which had the advantage of the collaboration of that master of topography, Dr. Thomas Ashby, in the years immediately preceding the illness that was to terminate in his lamented death (123).

Into that labyrinthine underground region—*Roma Sotterranea*—the catacombs, we must not enter now, except to record the discovery of a new cemetery area, to the left of the Via Tiburtina, not far from San Lorenzo, which has already yielded a rich store of inscriptions and other material (124).

XIX

ART

THE preceding pages have not been lacking in references to the discovery of works of art: noble or attractive monuments of architecture such as the republican shrines of the Campus Martius or the great temples of the Imperial Fora (pp. 30-67); the sculptured frieze of the Basilica Æmilia (pp. 76-7); the sarcophagi of the Prætextatus cemetery and other tomb areas (pp. 149-57); the portrait statues which formed a familiar feature in all the public spaces and buildings. In the concluding chapter (pp. 182-3), something will be said concerning the work of our colleagues in classifying, describing and interpreting the vast artistic repertory of Rome. Here there will be presented some instances where recent discoveries have added new pieces of outstanding interest; and for this purpose it may be allowable to venture a certain distance outside the walls of the Capital to points where there is prospect of finding material which will

illustrate important currents and aspects of the art of Rome.

In the year 1927 the planting of a vineyard in the territory of Aricia, some sixteen miles out on the Appian Way, led to the finding of a rustic sanctuary with its hoard of votive offerings, the special feature of which consisted of eight terra-cotta statues, busts or heads of Ceres and Proserpina, of life-size or somewhat less, and in various degrees of completeness, but as a whole giving an admirable idea of the Hellenistic terra-cotta art of the late republic. The freshness of modelling of these faces, and the spirit with which the details are rendered which were worked up subsequently to the casting, convey an impression of vitality and independence in a local school that might have been expected to have proved excessively subservient to the Greek tradition (125).

At the Alban Villa of Domitian, adjacent to the modern hamlet of Castel Gandolfo, the adaptation of the Villa Barberini to serve as the Papal Villa has resulted in the discovery of eight pieces of sculpture, in themselves extraordinarily heterogeneous but having this in common, that they can claim to have once belonged to the imperial collections and to reflect imperial taste: some of them are

probably later in date than Domitian, but the villa seems to have continued in the possession of the successive ruling houses for generations after his death. The Marsyas of Myron and the "Kyniskos" of Polyclitus are represented by marble copies, also a draped Aphrodite of the close of the fifth century B.C., a variation on the diaphanous treatment of drapery so popular in Athens of that period; there is an admirably executed basalt torso of a man, suggesting in technique and colour a post-Polyclitan bronze; a less successful marble winged Eros; the horse and the legs of the rider from a Roman equestrian statue (with a bearded head which may not belong), and the Lion-headed God already mentioned on pp. 144-5.

The enormous cutting for the Via dell' Impero, shown in Pl. 1, Fig. 1, not only penetrated deeply into virgin soil but ran through considerable strata of all periods. More than fifty statues, heads, reliefs, etc., were found here, the greater part of them in a mediæval wall. They may be taken to represent the tastes of various occupants of this area during different periods. Respect for Greek art is attested by some mediocre copies and adaptations of the standard masterpieces—

the "Cassel Apollo," a head of the same god wreathed in laurel, a bust of the ivy-wreathed, bearded Dionysus, and an eclectic figure, Icarus fastening on his wings. Various personages of the empire appear: Antinous, the favourite of Hadrian, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and several unknown individuals. The freshest and most admirable of all these marbles is the well-preserved head that is illustrated in Pl. 9; it has stylistic affinities with coins of about the middle of the third century of our era, a characteristic and important period in the development of portraiture, the interest of which is only now beginning to be realized (126).

This short survey of monumental sculpture may close with the marble head, feet, and right arm of a colossal statue of "acrolithic" technique (flesh parts in marble, drapery in metal), which were found below the level of imperial times near Temples B and C of the sacred area of the Argentina Zone (see above, p. 33). The head with its flowing hair, and the full forms of the neck, present a feminine appearance, and the identification with Juno has been suggested; however, there are Hellenistic types of Apollo that are not widely dissimilar. Thus the finding of these portions

of a cult-statue—for such it surely was—has not resulted, at least up to the present, in a universally accepted solution of the problem of the identification of the republican shrines (127). The workmanship appears to be that of the early second century of our era. The chief value of these pieces lies in their being representatives of the colossal acrolithic statues of the ancient world, of which many scattered fragments but few intelligible combinations survive: this special technique has its own interest, as a cheaper substitute for the gold and ivory work in which some of the greatest of the Greek masters of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. embodied their interpretation of the Olympian divinities.

The *penchant* of the more opulent Romans for richly decorated furniture is well known; and this class of object is admirably illustrated by a marble bowl for a fountain, standing three feet high and with a diameter of more than four feet, resting on three legs in the form of claws and a central spiral columnar support which is perforated for a jet of water; it is clearly influenced by Hellenistic metal technique, and may be classed under that elastic term “Neo-Attic.” The bottom is fluted, and Silenus masks mark the attachments of the fluted

handles. About the body there romps a troupe of sea-creatures, including pairs of sea-centaurs and Nereids, and between them birds, in a relief skilfully modulated and in parts almost reaching the full round. This ornate object was found near the Tiber, behind the Hospital of Santo Spirito, together with several other ancient marbles (128).

Another exquisite example of this class of decorative sculpture, but in a very restrained and delicate style, is the large bowl which has been recomposed from fragments found in the Golden House of Nero (129). The shallow body is kept severely plain, with the simple delicate fluting derived from a metallic prototype; the handles suggest knotted cords or twigs.

In the field of painting, there have been two events of importance: the uncovering of the representations on the exterior of the Tomb of the Scipios—unfortunately in too ruinous a state to give a clear idea of the art of the republic, of which they may well have once formed an outstanding example—and the progress in clearing the splendid halls of Nero's Golden House.

XX

VARIOUS

THERE remain some isolated discoveries, each of which either has added a definite detail to the known plan of the city, or has illuminated some aspect of its life.

Once again, the great cutting for the Via dell' Impero (Pl. 1, Fig. 1; *cf.* above, pp. 10-12, 163-4) has brought its contribution: and this time in the field of topography. The carved marble details of a small shrine bear an inscription with the names of the three *vico-magistri* who dedicated it in the year 5 B.C.: it not only is a record of the Augustan reorganization of the city, but without doubt is the actual Compitum Acili itself, near which stood one of the most venerable monuments of early Rome, the Tigillum Sororium with its two altars to Juna Sororia and Janus Curvatus (130); the pit for offerings which was found here may have had relation to these cults.

Across the Tiber, near the crest of the

Janiculum, in the digging preparatory to the construction of a retaining wall, toward the close of the year 1926, the channel of an aqueduct was discovered which there is every reason to identify with the Aqua Alsietina of Augustus; its course near the city had not hitherto been determined with certainty, and the establishment of this fixed point seems also to locate approximately the Naumachia of Augustus, an artificial pool for naval exhibitions in the low ground by the Tiber, which was supplied with water from this aqueduct (131).

As indicated above (p. 159), still a third important point in the topography of the city has been established with greater precision in recent years: the Barracks of the imperial mounted bodyguard, *Equites Singulares*, at the Lateran.

To return to the centre of the city, the Roman Forum: the shrine of Vesta has been partially restored; and the beginnings of human occupation in the adjacent area are attested by a cylindrical pit which was found to be full of earthen domestic utensils of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.; remains of grain were also identified. The later centuries, and the legislative tradition of the

Romans, have received their due in the partial clearing and restoration of the senate-house, Curia. The present structure is due to a rebuilding under Diocletian, on the site, and following the general lines, of the Curia of Augustus. The façade facing south upon the diminutive space which was all that survived of the republican Comitium has received again its well-proportioned openings: the large door on the floor level, and the three windows above; with the bracketed cornices that frame the pediment, and the stucco imitation of ashlar masonry, of which considerable traces remain just below the horizontal cornice, they form a well-articulated composition. The brick walls—and doubtless originally the vaulted roof—of the large rectangular hall are reinforced by a strengthening member at each corner—half tower, half buttress. It has proved possible to recognize the dispositions of the meeting-place of the senators: extending along each side three broad step-like platforms, and at the end a sort of tribunal for the presiding officer. Voting was conducted by division, somewhat as in the modern parliamentary system. The surface of each side wall was diversified by three niches at a certain height above the ground; there were

two doors at the further end. The Director of Forum and Palatine, Commendatore Bartoli, estimates that there was accommodation for about three hundred senators. All the surfaces of this splendid hall were veneered with marble, at least all those near the ground. The actual seats must have been portable, as no traces of them have been found (132).

On the Palatine there has been progress in clearing the remains of the central portion of the great palace of Domitian—the portion which it is perhaps permissible to regard as the more intimate part, in contrast with the well-known series of state and reception rooms to the north-west. There are two series of rooms, each grouped about a peristyle; on the higher ground to the north-east one story was sufficient, and here the central open space contained a small lake in the midst of which was a tiny structure approached by a bridge on masonry arches: a temple, in its discoverer's opinion (133); but the present arrangements are of the fourth century; the analogy of the island triclinium in the learned Varro's villa at Casinum (134) and a somewhat similar structure at Hadrian's Tiburtine Villa, together with the statements of the authors as to Domitian's phobias (135) and his attempts

to achieve solitude, suggest that there was once here an isolated private banqueting room or bedroom. The south-west half of this part of the palace, constructed on the lower slope of the hill, was two stories in height. Beneath the floor level of the north-eastern part have been found remains of an earlier structure.

The greater part of the valley of the Circus Maximus has been cleared of modern buildings and accorded a provisional systematization, but the ancient level has as yet been reached at only a few points. The plans for the future, however, include the gradual and systematic excavation of the Circus, and a beginning has already been made at the south-east end. Here there have recently been identified the foundations of the arch which was erected in honour of Titus in the years 80-81 to commemorate the subjection of the Jews and the destruction of Jerusalem (not to be confused with the arch on the Sacred Way).

Two important undertakings at the Oppian Hill, still in progress, must now be chronicled: the steady prosecution of the enormous task of clearing the splendid halls of the Golden House, and the establishment of a park that is to include and protect the remains of the Baths of Trajan, one of the grandiose monu-

ments of Rome which had suffered undue neglect.

The system of communications between the region of the Forum and the Campus Martius has now emerged with distinctness, owing to the clearing of the Clivus Argentarius on the eastern side of the Capitoline and the Via Biberatica (these two names are apparently late classical and mediæval respectively) at the Markets of Trajan; the latter affords an excellent impression of the aspect of a residential or business street in imperial Rome (see the plan, Pl. 5).

No edifice of ancient Rome is more familiar to tourists and architects than the Pantheon; and few have provided so many and such vexatious problems. The measures that have recently been taken for the consolidation of its structure have led to a better understanding of the methods adopted by the builders, a skilful combination of concrete and brick, with the use of light volcanic stone to reduce the weight of the great dome, which was cast solid on a semi-spherical centring: a wonder of Hadrianic construction. The front porch belongs to the same period as the dome and its supporting drum.

Honour has been shown to the imperial

builder Hadrian himself by the extensive works of isolation of his Mausoleum beside the Tiber, on the opposite side from the monument of Augustus and somewhat further down-stream. The visitor's attention to-day is first attracted by the bastions which were designed by the Renaissance engineers who adapted this great structure to serve as a fortress for the Popes; but apart from these, the fundamental lines and masses of Hadrian's tomb are now revealed more clearly than they had been in centuries. Inscriptions that were copied here in the Middle Ages show that this monument eventually received the remains not only of its builder but of a series of imperial personages of the Antonine House of the second century.

XXI

MUSEUMS

THIS chapter will be brief, informal, and—it is hoped—practical: its function is to guide and suggest. But no presentation of our subject would have been adequate without at least some account of the museums of Rome as they have been affected by the accelerated rhythm of recent events. Visitors to the city will require at this point some indications, more specific and more “up-to-date” than those provided by the ordinary guide-books; and students in libraries away from here will perhaps find their work furthered by some degree of orientation as to the present abiding-places of the more recently excavated objects and of those among the older finds that have been shifted and re-arranged. This is all the more desirable as the past decade has witnessed far-reaching reforms in these institutions, both old and new.

To a certain degree the Roman museums have each its own speciality. The culture of

Rome is best shown, as a whole, in the museum at the Baths of Diocletian, familiarly known as the *Terme*, now officially called *Museo Nazionale Romano*; here too the Minor Arts are well represented, and when all the mosaic floors have been put upon exhibition the artistic nature, and the antiquarian interest, of these decorated pavements will arouse more general recognition than they have as yet received (136). For sarcophagi, urns, and portraits the museum stands in the front rank. Its wealth in Greek art, or rather Græco-Roman copies—a testimony to one aspect of Roman culture—has been greatly increased through recent finds, partly owing to the introduction of the mechanical plough on the Roman Campagna.

Matters pertaining to the organization of Rome as a city—the public services such as police and fire protection; materials and methods of construction; burial customs—find their way to the Antiquarium on the Cælian, which now has been rebuilt, enlarged, and thoroughly reorganized. It contains the precious fragments of the marble plan of the city which in late antiquity adorned the wall of a building adjacent to the precinct of Vespasian's Temple of Peace; the new installation is affording an opportunity for fresh study

and consequently a better understanding of the plan. Here are the elephant's skull and tusk from the Velia, with which our chapter on remote precursors of the Romans opened. The most remarkable accessions of the past year, the statuettes, reliefs, inscriptions, etc. from the Dolichenum of the Aventine, have been described on pp. 141-2. This museum is charmingly set in a garden which itself is a treasure-house of inscribed stones and architectural fragments of great interest to the specialist.

As to the other large and famous museums of Rome, either they lie outside the immediate interests of this volume, or they have not been so affected by recent events as to require specific mention; but there is to be chronicled the creation of the Museo Mussolini (137), a great extension to the Conservatori Museum, with a section devoted to the republic, and many other halls of interest in this connection; it also incorporates some impressive portions of the podium and sub-structures of the Capitoline Temple. Another recent creation, the new Museum of St. Peter's, contains much of value for the close of antiquity and the early centuries of Christianity.

The visit to the great open-air monuments

of the Forum and Palatine will receive a valuable complement when the *antiquaria* of Forum and Palatine are open to the public; a special feature of the former will be the marble frieze from the Basilica Æmilia which was mentioned on pp. 76-7. Meanwhile, in a room opening off from the Sacred Way opposite to the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina there has been installed a collection of mediæval fragments that had been found in the Forum. The Prætextatus Museum has already received notice (Chap. XVII, pp. 149-54).

But the student in Rome should not allow his zeal for the original marbles to cause him to overlook two important collections of reproductions: the Museum of the Roman Empire, at the north-western end of the Circus Maximus, with its casts, models, photographs, etc., and the museum of casts of Greek sculpture which has now been installed in the spacious new University City near the Via Tiburtina and San Lorenzo. There is sound precept for studying the Provinces while in Rome: for the spirit of the Empire often manifested itself more impressively on the periphery than at the centre; and as for classic Greek art, the significance of its creations as a standard and as a source of inspiration remains,

even though recent years have revealed the magnitude of the debt which not only late imperial Rome but early Etruria and, through it, the Roman Republic owed to the older peoples of the Near East.

XXII

THE EVALUATION OF THE DISCOVERIES

THOSE who are not directly in contact with these matters can form only a general idea of the various processes to which an ancient object newly discovered in Rome is subjected: the different channels through which newly acquired information passes while on its way to form part of the common store of archæological knowledge. A certain feeling for this aspect of our theme has been assumed throughout this book, but in closing we must consider it in itself.

Apart from the Vatican State and the properties subject to its control, the administration of the antiquities of Rome is at present divided. The agencies of the national government control the Forum and Palatine, with their special *antiquaria*, or museums of small objects that cannot be left out in the open, as well as most of the great museums of Rome. The *Governatorato* of Rome, through its Section of Antiquities and Fine Arts, sends its

inspectors to watch current building operations with a view to possible finds, and it safeguards both the ancient structures and such small objects as appear suitable for museums. Works of outstanding artistic or historical interest are incorporated in the famous city collections on the Capitoline, while one of the most striking features of recent years has been the reorganization, and the development, of the Antiquarium on the Cælian, the scope of which, as already stated, is the documentation of Ancient Rome as a city. The ecclesiastical antiquities, especially the remains of catacombs and early churches, in which this city is so incomparably rich, occupy a special position, since they are of interest to both Church and State.

The vigilant and active policy of the Italian authorities may be explained, roughly, as the application of three distinct juridical concepts: first, that corresponding to the English principle of "treasure trove" (138); second, the theory which has been gaining ground in recent years in Italy that all the wealth of the subsoil belongs of right not to the individual but to the people; and third, the conviction that the cultural patrimony of the people, of which these finds constitute a part, is to be

held in trust and administered for them, and for future generations, by the State.

The objects found, then, interest the State first materially, as tangible property, and then, less tangibly, as forming part of the artistic, historical and cultural patrimony of the nation. And there is still another element to the situation, fully recognized by the Italians: they are in a real, though vague, sense trustees and administrators for the rest of the world: the civilizing mission of Rome, which has never been long forgotten either by the beneficiaries or by the Romans themselves, entails a certain moral obligation not only to preserve the current finds but to render them available to the world and to international scholarship. First publication falls to the Italian authorities: after that comes the task of their colleagues in organizing and interpreting the new material in its broad context and with the help of such methods and such points of view as they themselves may be in a position to contribute. An important function as a clearing-house of information is assured for the *Istituto di Studi Romani*.

The Government has shown admirable enterprise in supplying to the daily and weekly press an abundance of accurate official in-

formation as to current archæological discoveries: our morning paper, *Il Messaggero*, has assumed a position of some consequence in the scientific world. Then come the oral communications presented by the several administrators at meetings of learned societies; then the preliminary reports (139); and finally the elaborate monographs (140).

Meanwhile, the various synoptic reports of annual progress are being prepared, for insertion in different periodical publications with the function of making these matters known, in a systematic and usable form, to the scholarly public of various lands (141).

Then it is that the evaluation of the material enters upon another phase. Most of the peoples that look to Rome as the source, in a greater or less degree, of their culture, have established their own institutions in this city: and each has brought its own individuality to the task of interpreting Rome (142). A position of pre-eminence has been won by the German Archæological Institute, by reason both of the quality and amount of its scientific productivity and of the generous scientific hospitality to workers from other lands which its incomparable library and photograph collection enable it to extend. British scholar-

ship can point to the universally appreciated contributions of the late Dr. Thomas Ashby, whose masterpiece, *The Aqueducts of Ancient Rome*, appeared only a few months ago, and of Mrs. Strong, whose gifted chapters in successive volumes of the *Cambridge Ancient History* not only are a fitting culmination to her many years of Roman activity but place these Roman studies on a position of dignified equality with the achievements of specialists in other fields of ancient history. Both the British and American institutions send not only scholars but artists as well to the Eternal City, thus giving opportunity for fruitful collaboration between the professions in the interpretation of the greatness of Rome.

The foreign institutions established in Rome, like so much that exists in the city of to-day, are heirs to a great and venerable tradition. The three phrases in praise of Rome which I have ventured to print at the beginning of the volume reveal three men, born in three remote quarters of the world in ages far apart, and speaking three languages, united by the common interest of praising the Eternal City. And they had been preceded by many non-Romans; Ennius of Rudiaë, Cicero of Arpinum, Virgil of Mantua, Livy of Patavium. The

attraction exerted by the material remains when visited on the spot may be taken as symbolical of the far-reaching and long-lasting attraction of the name and fame of Rome.

PLATE I



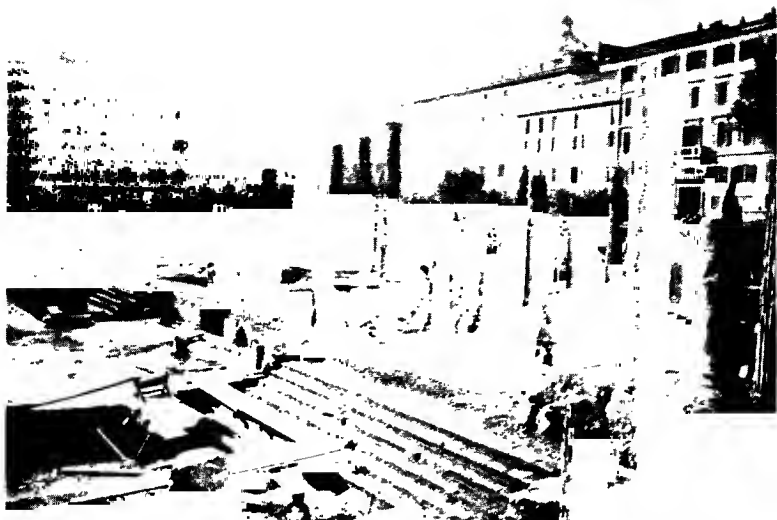
(1) Via dell'Impero at the Ridge of the Velia. (Taken 28th July, 1932.) In the distance, the Colosseum.

In the alluvial sands through which the line of the new street was cut, there was found the skull of an elephant, with one tusk, of the Early Quaternary Period



(2) Skull of Neanderthal Type found in 1929 at Saccopastore, among the gravels of the River Arno. A woman's skull, lacking the mandible: Middle Quaternary Period. Estimated to be 40,000 years old.

PLATE II



(1) The Four Sacred Edifices of the "Argentina Zone," seen from somewhat E. of N.



(2) The Temples of the Forum Boarium, seen from somewhat E. of N. In the distance to the left, a portion of the Aventine Hill.

PLATE III



1. The Capitoline Hill from W. The demolitions associated with the construction of the Via del Mare have revealed the native rock and the primitive contours.



Exhib. 17

2. A portion of the Capitoline Hill from S.E. Not far from the Tarpeian Rock, of the primitive appearance of which it gives some impression.

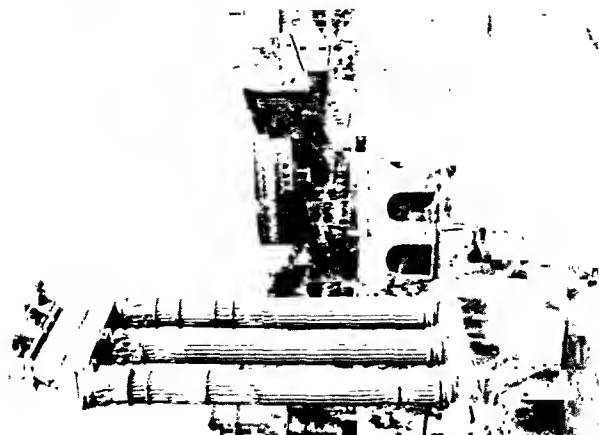
PLATE IV



(2) The Forum of Augustus, looking N.

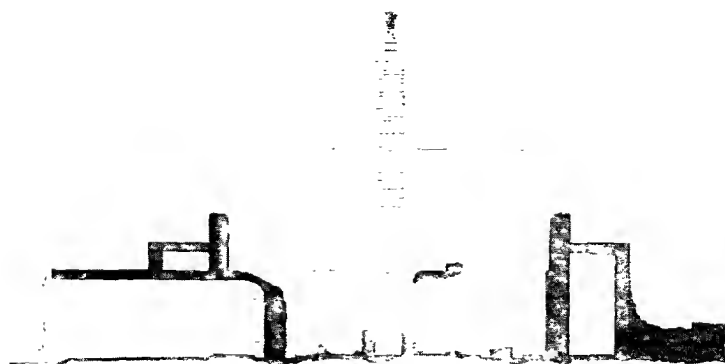


(3) Post-Augustan detail from the Forum of Augustus.

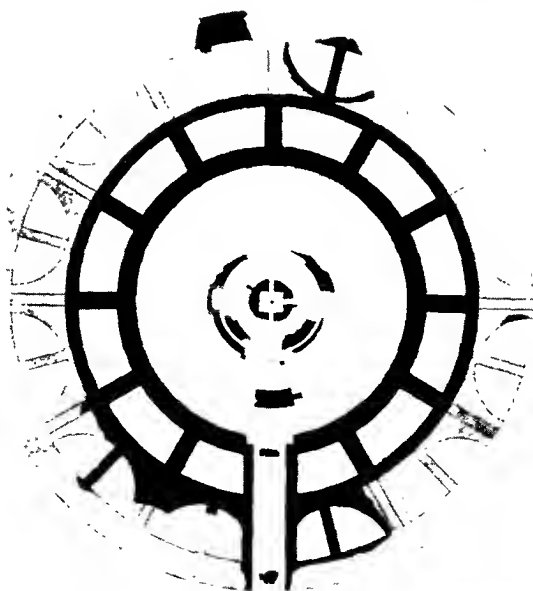


(1) View looking from the lower N.E. slopes of the Capitoline Hill along the Via dell'Impero towards the Colosseum.

PLATE VI



(1)

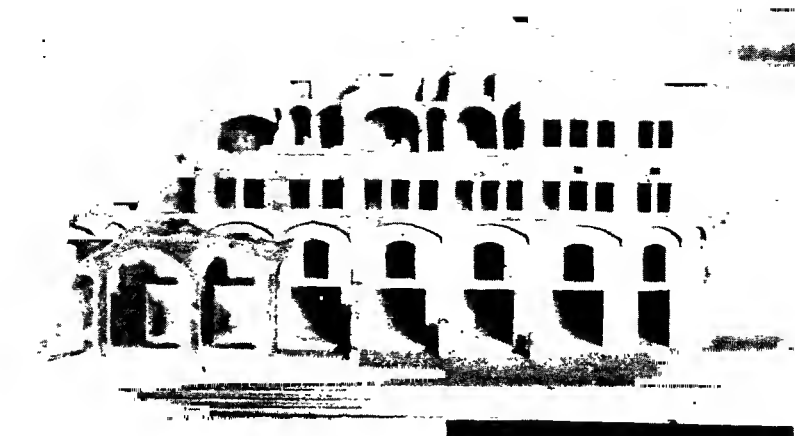


(2)

Ing. Guglielmo Gatti's restored plan and section of the Mausoleum of Augustus.

The mausoleum was constructed in 28 B.C. Height 150 Roman feet, width 300 ft. Travertine central pillar—travertine or marble facing of the drum—Interior ring walls of concrete faced with reticulate work—above them a mound of earth planted with evergreen trees—On top of the central pillar, a bronze statue of Augustus.

PLATE VII



(1) Ing. Italo Gismondi's Model of the House at N.W. Corner of the Capitoline Hill.



(2) The Temple of Venus and Rome, from the Colosseum. — Taken January, 1936. — The columns along the sides of the platform have been re-erected.

PLATE VIII



1. Marble Relief from the Shrine of Jupiter Dolichenus, the Syrian Baal, on the Avenue Hill. The God and his Consort stand on their attendant animals beside a flaming altar.



2. Marble Mithraic Relief from the Valley of the Circus Maximus. The unconquered Sun God slays the bull.

PLATE IX



Marble Head from the Velia.

One of the finest examples of portraiture of ca. A.D. 250. Now in the Museo Mussolini

NOTES

(1) The methods of investigation which have been developed in Greece, Egypt and the Near East are set forth in J. P. Droop, *Archæological Excavation*, Cambridge, 1915; Sir Flinders Petrie, *Methods and Aims in Archæology*, London, 1904; and in the pocket manual prepared by a galaxy of British experts, *How to Observe in Archæology, Suggestions for Travellers in the Near and Middle East*, London, British Museum, 2nd ed., 1929. (2) *Ergebnisse*, text, I, pp. 101-4. (3) *Storia degli scavi di Roma*, Rome, 1902-12. (4) E.g. by Lanciani, in the opening pages of *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome* (1897). (5) A. W. Van Buren, *Journ. of Rom. Studies*, I, 1911, pp. 196-8. (6) Suetonius, *Aug.*, XXVIII, 3; Dio Cassius, LVI, 30, 3 f., who interprets the saying figuratively. (7) T. Frank, *Roman Buildings of the Republic, an Attempt to Date them from their Materials*, Vol. III, 1924, of *Papers and Monographs of the Amer. Acad. in Rome*. (8) *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (henceforth cited as *CIL.*), XV. (9) Horace, *Od.*, II, 18, 1-8; Ovid, *Ars Amat.*, III, 113-20; Vitruvius, VII, 5, 7 f.; 7-14. (10) C. Ricci, A. M. Colini, V. Mariani, *Via dell' Impero*, Rome, 1933, pp. 64 f. (11) Suet., *Aug.*, LXXII, 3. (12) A. Geikie, *Landscape in History and Other Essays*, London, 1905, pp. 308-52, esp. p. 326. (13) Sergio Sergi, in *Associazione Intern. Stud. Medit.*, *Bollettino*, II, 1931-2, no. 1, pp. 4-8, pl. 2; Sergi and Köppel, in *Riv. di Antropologia*, XXX, 1934; further bibliography, at the end of Sergi's article in the "*Eugen Fischer-Festband*" of *Zeitschr. f. Morphologie u. Anthropologie*, XXXIV, 1934, pp. 504-12. (14) Presented to the English-reading public by Messrs. Peake and Fleure in a readable volume, *Apes and Men*, being Vol. I of their series *The Corridors*

of Time. (15) *The Illustrated London News*, Vol. 187, no. 5026, 17th Aug. 1935, p. 295. (16) *Æn.*, I, 33. (17) G. Sâflund, *Le mura di Roma repubblicana*, Lund, 1932 (= Swedish Archæol. Inst. in Rome, *Skrifter*, I), pp. 19-22. (18) Some ten miles north of Rome: Frank, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-21. (19) Dionys. Hal., IV, 13, 5. (20) Sâflund, *op. cit.* (21) His review of Sâflund, in *Gnomon*, X, 1934, pp. 455-65. See also Ian A. Richmond's review, in *Journ. of Rom. Studies*, XXII, 1932, pp. 233-8; and, for a reactionary position, G. Lugli, in *Historia*, VII, 1933, pp. 3-45. (22) VI, 32, 1. (23) Platner and Ashby, *A Topogr. Dict. of Anc. Rome*, pp. 392-6; *Mem. of the Amer. Acad. in Rome (MAAR.)*, X, 1932, pp. 145-82. (24) Corner of Via di Campo Marzio and Via della Torretta. (25) *Not. Scavi*, 1933, pp. 240-4. (26) *The City Wall of Imperial Rome*, Oxford, 1930. (27) So named after the neighbouring Torre Argentina, which once belonged to a bishop of Strassburg, Lat. *Argentoratum*, also *Argentina*. (28) G. Marchetti-Longhi, in *Bullettino Comunale (Bull. Com.)*, LX, 1932, pp. 253-346; LXI, 1933, pp. 163-94; L. Du Jardin presents independent views, with bibliography, in *Rendiconti d. Pontif. Accad. Rom. di Archeol.*, VIII, 1931-2, pp. 29-151. (29) *CIL.*, I, 2nd ed., ii, 804. (30) A. K. Lake, in *MAAR.*, XII, 1935, pp. 89-149. (31) Mrs. Strong, in *Cambr. Anc. Hist.*, IX, p. 831, with plans opposite p. 829. (32) Suggestive restoration by A. F. Deam, pls. XLVI, XLVII, of A. Muñoz, *Il restauro del tempio della Fortuna Virile*, Rome, 1925. (33) U. Kahrstedt, in the most recent ed. of Friedländer's *Sittengeschichte Roms* (9-10th ed., IV (*Anhänge*), 1921, pp. 11-21). (34) Dionys. Hal., VII, 35, 4, cf. VIII, 78, 5. (35) Recently investigated by the Swedish Archæol. Inst. in Rome: *Bull. dell' Assoc. Internaz. Studi Romani*, V, 1934-5, pp. 1-31. (36) *Testimonia ap.* Sâflund, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-10. (37) *Ad Att.*, IV, 16, 8. (38) Pausanias, V, 12, 6; X, 5, 11. (39) Restoration of the Forum of Cæsar, by O. Grossi, in *MAAR.*, XIII, 1936, pp. 216-20. (40) Measured rendering of column: *MAAR.*, II, 1918, pl. 2. (41) The already-cited *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* by

S. B. Platner and T. Ashby (Oxford, 1929) should be supplemented by the *Formæ Urbis Romæ Antiquæ* of H. Kiepert and C. Hülsen (2nd ed., Berlin, 1912). The geology is shown in the authoritative *Carta geologica di Roma* by A. Verri (Novara, 1915). A map on a larger scale, representing much of the life-work of Lanciani, is his *Forma Urbis Romæ* (Milan, 1893 ff.), of which an up-to-date edition is greatly needed. The *Media Pars Urbis* of V. Reina (Florence, 1911) presents a fresh survey by competent engineers of the part in question. The need felt by a somewhat wider public, for a new, comprehensive and serious manual has been met by Lanciani's successor in the University of Rome, Professor G. Lugli: *I monumenti antichi di Roma e Suburbio* (Rome, vol. I, 1924; II, 1934; III in preparation). The printed catalogue of the library of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome supplies a fairly full bibliography down to the time of its preparation. For synopses of current progress, see the final chapter of our book. (42) Lanciani's *Storia degli scavi di Roma* has already been mentioned. The designs by Renaissance artists are a great mine of information: those in the Uffizi of Florence have been superbly published by A. Bartoli, *I monumenti antichi di Roma nei disegni degli Uffizi di Firenze*, 5 folio volumes (Rome, 1914-22); and there are smaller and less expensive works which furnish a convenient introduction: A. Bartoli, *Cento vedute di Roma antica* (Florence, 1911); F. Hermanin, *Die Stadt Rom im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1911). (43) *Le Guide di Roma, Materialien zu einer Geschichte der Röm. Topographie, unter Benutzung des handschriftl. Nachlasses von Oskar Pollak herausgeg.* v. Ludwig Schudt (Vienna and Augsburg, 1930). (44) As appears clearly in the *Indices to Dessau's Inscriptiones Latine Selectæ*. (45) A. K. Lake, in *MAAR.*, XII, 1935, p. 136. (46) The essential ideas here advanced formed the subject of a short communication which I presented before the Fourth National Congress of Roman Studies held in Rome, October 1935. (47) I, 1-23. (48) For the *lex templi* and the dedication, the prime source is Dio Cassius, LV, 10,

1-6, with Suetonius, *Aug.*, I, 2. Mars as consort of Venus Genetrix: Lucretius, I, 32-40, and other authors cited *ap.* Platner-Ashby, p. 226, and Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kultus der Römer*, 2nd ed., Munich, 1912, pp. 77, 292. (49) A. v. Gerkan, in *Gnomon*, X, 1934, p. 458; *Arch. Anz.* to *Jahrbuch*, 1933, cols. 618-22. (50) I, vii, 1. (51) No. 25 in the plan, A. Maiuri, *La Villa dei Misteri*, Rome, 1931: see *ibid.*, pp. 74-6. (52) Maiuri, *La Casa del Menandro*, Rome, [1933], nos. 22 and 24 of plan; pp. 89-96; pl. 10. (53) G. Lugli, in *Not. Scavi*, 1921, pp. 386-9: there described as a private sanctuary. (54) R. Delbrück, *Hell. Bauten in Latium*, II, Strassburg, 1912, p. 1, fig. 1; pl. 1. (55) R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*, Munich, 1910, pp. 613 f. (56) F. Hiller v. Gärtringen, *Thera*, I, pp. 306-7; *I.G.*, XII, iii, 416. (57) E. Dyggve, F. Poulsen, K. Rhomaios, *Das Heroon von Kalydon*, Copenhagen, 1934, p. 141 (= p. 429 of R. Danish Acad., Mem., Lett., VII. Ser., t. iv, no. 4), index, *s. v. Kultapsis, Kultraum*. The dating is questioned by W. Zschietzschmann in *Gnomon*, XI, 1935, pp. 659-60. (58) Delos, apsidal exedra of Midas at Terrace of Foreign Gods: *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, VI, 1882, p. 305, pl. xi *h*; VII, 1883, p. 280; date, 106/5 B.C.; *cf.* P. Roussel, *Délos Colonie Athénienne*, pp. 264, 419-20. On exedrae, see Mau, in Pauly-Wissowa, VI, 1581-3; but most of his semi-circular examples are of Roman date; the earlier ones are mostly square. However, the curvilinear structure beneath the Great Altar of Pergamon (*Alt. v. Perg.*, III, i, pp. 83-5, pls. ii, xx) suggests a tradition of some standing. The subject is treated from another angle by G. Leroux, *Les origines de l'édifice hypostyle*, Paris, 1913, pp. 205-12. (59) *Op. cit.*, p. 141 (= 429), index, *s. v. Exedra*. (60) *De Spectac.*, 10. (61) *N.H.*, VIII, 20. (62) IV, 21; 25; V, 42. (63) *Aug.*, 29, 1-3. (64) *Capitolium*, VI, 1930, pp. 532-67. (65) Suetonius, *Aug.*, 100, 4. (66) *Fasti Cupresnes*, *CIL.*, I, 2nd ed., p. 62; IX, no. 5290: [Ma]esol[—]. (67) Suetonius, *loc. cit.* (68) V, 3, 8. (69) 872-4. (70) *Ad. Att.*, IV, 16, 8. (71) F. W. Shipley, in *MAAR.* IX, 1931, pp. 7-60. (72) F. E. Brown, in

MAAR., XII, 1935, pp. 67-88. (73) *CIL.*, I, 2nd ed., pp. 186-97. (74) French School of Rome, *Mélanges*, XLIX, 1932, pp. 93-110. (75) *Not. Scavi*, 1933, pp. 431-523. (76) A portion of one of these, in honour of a certain Valerius Maximus, has been found on the north slopes of the Capitoline Hill: *Not. Scavi*, 1934, pp. 217-18. (77) *Not. Scavi*, 1927, pp. 289-97. (78) *Ibid.*, 1933, pp. 438-44. (79) *Ibid.*, pp. 489-91. (80) *Ibid.*, pp. 491-3. (81) *CIL.*, XIV, 4531-46, 5354, 5355; *Not. Scavi*, 1932, pp. 188-205; 1934, pp. 247-63; *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1932, 363-81; *Rheinisches Museum*, LXXXII, 1933, pp. 362-80; *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, XXIX, 1935, cols. 177-204. (82) *Bull. Com.*, LV, 1927, pp. 269-74. (83) *Not. Scavi*, 1926, pp. 62-7. (84) *AJA.*, XXXIII, 1929, p. 435. (85) *Bull. Com.*, LV, 1927, pp. 275-80. (86) *Not. Scavi*, 1931, 313-45, with valuable subsequent discussions in the philological journals. (87) *Bull. Com.*, LVIII, 1930, pp. 153-61. (88) *Not. Scavi*, 1930, pp. 346-52. (89) *AJA.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 549-53. (90) *CIL.*, VI, 2998-3091, date A.D. 215-45. (91) *CIL.*, XIV, 5289-302. (92) *Bull. Com.*, LXI, 1933, pp. 111-30. (93) *De Gramm.*, 16. (94) *Am. Journ. of Phil.*, XLVIII, 1927, p. 18; *Bull. Com.*, LXI, 1933, pp. 211-15. (95) *Bull. Com.*, LVI, 1928, pp. 307-13. (96) Groag, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, XIV, 2484. (97) G. Calza, in *Capitolium*, XI, 1935, pp. 413-23. (98) *MAAR.*, XI, 1933, 73-8. (99) *Capitolium*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 413, fig. 1, 415. (100) Helbig, *Führer*, 3rd ed., no. 252, with references. (101) G. Tomassetti, in *Bull. Com.*, XXXV, 1907, pp. 86-8. (102) Cato, *R.R.*, 157, 11; Cassiodorus, *Var.*, II, 39, 8. (103) The often-cited passage, Olympiodorus *ap. Phot.* p. 63 *a* Bekker, states that the so-called Antonine Baths had at the disposal of those bathing 1,600 seats, wrought of polished marble, and those of Diocletian almost twice that number. Both the original source and the excerptor are late, and it would perhaps be a waste of ingenuity to subject the statement to critical scrutiny: were these literally "seats for bathers," *i.e.* to be used while bathing? And if so, how? Were they

the equipment of the latrines, for the convenience of the patrons of the baths? Are the figures credible? Why have not more of these seats been preserved to the present day? (104) *CIL.*, VI, 33975; *MAAR.*, XIII, 1936, p. 166. (105) *CIL.*, XIV, 85. (106) Calza, in *Bull. Assoc. Int. Studi Mediterranei*, II, 1931-2, no. 5, p. 8. (107) A. W. Van Buren, *A. Bibliographical Guide to Latium and Southern Etruria*, 3rd ed., Rome, 1933, p. 31. (108) *Praef.*, 6. (109) *Bull. Com.*, LXI, 1933, pp. 257-8. (110) *MAAR.*, XII, 1935, pp. 7-66; this building, p. 61. (111) Examples recently published: under San Clemente, E. Junyent, *Studi di Ant. Cristiana*, VI, 1932; under Santa Anastasia, *Riv. di Archeol. Crist.*, VII, 1930, pp. 91-106; under San Martino ai Monti, R. Vielliard, *Studi di Ant. Crist.*, IV, 1931; cf. the palace at the Horti Sallustiani, *Skrifter*, IV, 1935, pp. 196-227. (112) References in Harsh's article; to which may now be added Boëthius's two recent articles in *Skrifter*, IV, 1935, pp. 164-95, and *Die Antike*, XI, 1935, pp. 110-38. (113) *Bull. Com.*, LIX, 1931, pp. 123-30. (114) Illustrated, *Anzeiger to Jahrbuch*, XLVIII, 1933, cols. 595-9. (115) *Not. Scavi*, 1935, pp. 76-104. (116) III, 62. (117) This account follows in part the information supplied by Dr. M. Gütschow for W. Technau's report, *Anzeiger to Jahrbuch*, XLV, 1930, cols. 371-5. (118) M. Gütschow, in *Röm. Mitt.*, IL, 1934, pp. 295-304. (119) *Riv. di Archeol. Crist.*, IX, 1932, pp. 119-45, with Wilpert's treatment, *Rendiconti Pontif. Accad. Rom. di Archeol.*, IX, 1933, pp. 100-5. (120) Mrs. Arthur Strong, *Apotheosis and After Life*, London, 1915. (121) *Riv. di Archeol. Crist.*, XI, 1934, pp. 335-58. (122) *Rendiconti Accad. Pontif.*, IX, 1933, 33-43. (123) *Riv. di Archeol. Crist.*, IX, 1932, pp. 221-55. (124) *Ibid.*, IV, 1927, pp. 39-45; VI, 1929, pp. 179-239; X, 1933, pp. 187-233; XI, 1934, pp. 7-47. (125) *Not. Scavi*, 1930, pp. 370-80. (126) D. Mustilli, *Bull. Com.*, LXI, 1933, pp. 89-109. (127) *Memorie della Pontif. Accad. Rom. di Archeol.*, Serie III, III, 1932-3, pp. 133-203; *Rendiconti*, VIII, 1931-2, pp. 100-13. (128) *Not. Scavi*, 1935, pp. 69-72. (129) *Bull. Com.*, LXI, 1933, p. 243. (130) *Ibid.*,

LXI, 1933, pp. 80-1. (131) *MAAR.*, VI, 1927, pp. 137-46. (132) *Capitolium*, IX, 1933, pp. 270-1. (133) *Not. Scavi*, 1929, pp. 3-29. (134) *Journ. of Rom. Studies*, IX, 1919, pp. 59-66. (135) *Suet., Dom.*, 14-16; *Pliny, Paneg.*, 82. (136) M. E. Blake, *MAAR.*, XIII, 1936, pp. 67-214, esp. index, p. 211. (137) Excellent new catalogue by Dr. D. Mustilli. (138) A very delicate minor point in English law: C. S. Emden, "The Law of Treasure-Trove, Past and Present," in the *Law Quarterly Review*, XLII, 1926, pp. 368-81, repr. in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1929, pp. 85-105. (139) *E.g.* in *Capitolium*, the richly-illustrated semi-popular organ of the *Governatorato di Roma*—which ceased publication with the year 1935—or the *Bullettino Comunale*, its archæological journal, or the *Notizie degli Scavi* of the National Government. (140) *E.g.*, in the *Monumenti Antichi* of the *Accademia dei Lincei*, or in the various series which are now appearing under the auspices of the *Reale Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell' Arte*. (141) An important feature of the *Bull. Com.* consists of its *Notiziario Archeologico*; the German Archæological Institute in Rome, in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger* which forms an appendix to its *Jahrbuch*, sets a standard approaching perfection; the *American Journal of Archaeology* has its own bibliographies, reviews, and "News Items from Rome"; and in Great Britain the Classical Association, in its *Year's Work in Classical Studies*, undertakes to supply at suitable intervals a chapter on Italian Archæology and Excavations, somewhat less detailed and without pictures, but prepared with the practical needs of classical scholars in mind. (142) There is an annual volume, published in Rome under an international committee, and entitled *Annales Institutorum quæ provehendis humanioribus disciplinis artibusque colendis a variis in Urbe erecta sunt nationibus*.

INDEX

- ACROLITHIC statues, 33, 164-5
 Actium, 75, 77
 Ædes, the term, 66-7
 Æneas and Æneas Silvius, 90
 Africa, 8, 11, 46, 87-9
 Age of Iron, First, 52, 168
 Agger, 19, 22
 Agrippa, 72
 Alba Longa, 90
 Alban Villa of Domitian, 144, 162-3
 Alexamenos, 101
 Allegorical representations, 151, 156
 Altars: Ara Pacis Augustæ, 68-70, 74-5; at Argentina Zone, 32-3; of Juna Sororia and Janus Curatius, 167; of Verminus, 33
 Ammonios, 104
 Amphitheatres (*see also* Colosseum), 79-80
 Anio, 7-8, 12, 14-15
 Antinous, 164
 Antonines, 173
 Antoninus and Faustina, Temple of, 177
 Apollo, Temple of, in Campus Martius, 78
 ——— on Palatine, 67, 75
 Appian Way: *see* Via Appia
 Apse, the, in the Roman Temple, 56-67, 110-11
 Aqua Alsietina, 168
 Aqueducts, 183
 Aquila, 118
 Arcadius, 89
 Arch of Constantine, 112
 ——— Drusus in Forum of Augustus, 90-1
 ——— Titus, 171
 Ardea, 43-4
 Argentina Zone, 30-5, 37, 161, 164-5
 Argiletum, 49-52
 Aricia, 63, 162
 Art, 161-166 *et passim*; Flavian, 76; Greek, 77, 155-6, 162-5, 175, 177-8; Hadrianic, 151; Hellenistic, 77, 162, 165-6; Late Ancient, 146-8, 164; Trajanic, 77
 Artemis, 63
 ——— Ephesian, 145
 Arval Brethren, 98
 Ashby, T., 160, 183
 Asia Minor, 46, 71
 Astarte, 141, 145
 Augustus: his Aqua Alsietina, 168; completion of Forum of Julius Cæsar, 48; Curia, 169; interest in fossils, 11; Mausoleum, 68-75, 173; monuments, 68-81; Naumachia, 168; period, 6, 19, 71; rebuilding of Rome, 6, 8; reorganization of Rome, 167; Temple and Forum of Mars Ultor, 48-9, 51, 58, 64, 67, 75, 83-4, 89-90; triple triumph of 29 B.C., 78

- Aurelian, 5, 27-8, 39, 107
 Aventine Hill, 18, 21, 36,
 42, 98, 141, 176
 ——— False, 69, 105
 Barracks of Equites Singu-
 lares, 159, 168
 ——— Vigiles, 101
- Bartoli, A., 76, 170, 187
 Basilica Æmilia, 75-7, 89,
 161, 177; Argentaria, 46,
 100-4; inscriptions from,
 100-4; at Ostia, 128; of
 Junius Bassus, 159-60; of
 Maxentius, 2, 10, 45, 109-
 10; of Trajan (Ulpia), 49,
 52, 97
 Basilicas (*see also* Churches),
 v, 48, 50-1, 59-60, 63
 Baths, 63; at Ostia, 126,
 128; of Caracalla, 119-20,
 189-90; of Diocletian, 2,
 175, 189-90; of Titus, 111;
 of Trajan, 111, 171-2
 Bovillæ, 68
 Boxers in mosaic, 121-3
 Brick and mortar, 1, 7, 27-8,
 70, 82, 100, 110, 169, 172
 ——— sun-dried, 6
 Bronze, 8, 50, 71, 85, 89, 91
 Byzantine associations of por-
 phyry and purple, 120
 Byzantium, 139
- Cæcilius, 103
 ——— Epirota, Quintus, 104
 ——— Servilianus, 96
 Cælian Hill, 11, 112, 141, 175,
 180
 Calydon, 64-5
 Calza, G., 126-7, 137
 Campagna, 12, 175
 Campus Martius, 26, 48-50,
 69, 75, 78, 80-1, 161, 172
 Capitolia, 55, 128
- Capitoline Hill, v, 20-1, 38-
 43, 45, 47, 133, 172
 ——— Temple, 23, 176
 Cappellaccio, 20, 22-3
 Capri, 11
 Capua, 64
 Caracalla, 107, 119-20, 164,
 189
 Casinum, 170
 Castel Gandolfo, 162-3
 Castor, Temple of, 23, 91
 Catacombs, 149-52, 154, 160-
 1, 180
 Ceres, 102, 162
 Cestian Bridge, 97
 Child-birth, 115, 118-21
 Christianity, 66, 105-6,
 108-9, 152-4, 156, 158-60,
 176, 180
 Chryses, 102
 Churches, 2, 31, 42, 50, 60,
 63, 142, 158-60, 180
 Cicero, 20, 48, 77, 102, 117,
 183
 Circus Flaminius, 30, 35
 ——— of Maxentius, 109
 ——— Maximus, 21, 42, 143,
 171, 177
 Claudius, 26-7, 99, 118, 125
 Clay, 5-7, 40
 Climate, 3-5
 Clivus Argentarius, 172
 Clodii, 116-7
 Colonnades: *see* Porticoes
 Colosseum, 4, 10, 42, 45, 79,
 107, 110-12
 Comitium, 47, 99, 169
 Commodus, 98, 142, 146
 Compitum Acili, 167
 Conflagrations, 3, 30, 76,
 108-9
 Consecration of temples, 58,
 66-7
 Constantine, 96, 108-9, 112,
 147, 159
 Constantinian monogram, 105

- Corinthian order, 51, 78
 Cornelius Proculus, 96
 Crafts: *see* Trades
 Cumont, F., 144
 Curia, 47, 169
 — at Ostia, 128
 Cybele, 145
- Dedication of temples, 66-7,
 78
 Della Corte, M., 101, 103
 Delphi, 57
 Diocletian, 2, 169, 175, 189-
 90
 Dionysius of Syracuse, 24-5
 Dolichenus, 141-2, 147, 176
 Domes, 63-5, 81-2, 172
 Domitian, 49, 51, 58-60, 144,
 162-3, 170-1
 Domitius Calvinus, 78
 Domus, 138
 — Aurea: *see* Golden
 House
 — Transitoria, 108
 Drusus, brother of Tiberius,
 90
 — son of Tiberius, 90-1
 Duilius, 99
- Earthquakes, 4-5
 Education, Roman, 103-4
 Elephant, Early and Middle
 Quaternary, 11-13, 15, 176
 Elephants from Africa, 88
 Elogia, 84, 89-90
 Ephesian Artemis, 145
 Equites Singulares, 159, 168
 Eros, 103
 Erosion, 6, 44
 Esquiline Hill, 10, 22, 107,
 159
 Etruscan influence, 71, 178;
 sarcophagi, 155; sooth-
 sayers, 61; tumuli, 71
- Evaluation of the Discoveries,
 179-84
 Evans, A. J., 1
 Exedrae, 59, 65
- Flagellation, 153
 Flaminian Way: *see* Via
 Flaminia
 Flavians, 87, 111
 Fora, Imperial, v, 38-42, 45-
 55, 57, 62, 65-7, 83-97,
 110, 136, 161
 Foreign Institutions in
 Modern Rome, 182-3
 Forum at Ostia, 2, 128; at
 Pompeii, 61-2
 Forum Boarium, 21, 38, 47;
 temples at, 35-6, 42
 — Cuppedinis, 47
 — Holitorium, 38, 42, 47
 — Piscarium, 47
 — Romanum, v, 2, 43, 47,
 49, 75-6, 78, 85, 91, 107,
 168-70, 172, 176-7, 179
 — of Augustus, with
 Temple of Mars Ultor, 51,
 58-9, 64, 66-7, 75, 83-4,
 89-90
 — — Julius Caesar, 45,
 48, 87-9, 95-7, 100
 — — Nerva, 49, 52, 90
 — — Trajan, 38, 49, 52,
 84, 91, 96-7, 136
 Freedmen, 116-18
 Frieze, marble, from Basilica
 Æmilia, 76-7 161, 177
- Gaius Caesar, 72, 74
 Galla Placidia, 89
 Gallic disaster, 21
 Gaming-board, 105
 Gaudentius, 105-6
 Geology, 4-15, 41
 Gerkan, A. von, 21

- German Archæological Institute, 54, 150, 154, 182
 Gismondi, I., 46, 133
 Glue, Glutinarium, 116-17
 Golden House, 108, 166, 171
 Goldsmiths, 47
 Gordianus and Tranquillina, 146
 Græco-Roman temple, 58
 Graffiti, 100-3
 Granaries at Ostia, 127, 137-40
 Granite, 8
 Greek alphabet, 24; fortifications, 23; house, 139; inscriptions, 102, 104-5; language and literature, 102, 104-5; marble, 8, 150, 152; sarcophagi, 155-6; temples, 46, 57; theatres, 80
 Grotta Oscura stone, 18-22, 33
 Gütschow, M., 149, 152
 Hadrian, his African tour, 88; embellishment of Forum of Augustus, 51; favourite Antinous, 164; Mausoleum, 172-3; order for statue of Sabina, 88; restoration of Pantheon, 172, of Pomerium, 25-7; his Temple of Deified Trajan, 50, of Venus and Rome, 59, 61, 107-13; Tiburtine Villa, 170
 Halicarnassus, Mausoleum of, 71
 Harsh, P., 134, 137, 139
 Hercules, 34-5
 — Invictus, 87
 Hermodorus of Salamis, architect, 35
 Hiero, 102
 Homer, 102
 Honorius, 29, 89
 Horrea Piperataria, 48
 Houses: Capitoline Hill, 133-6; Ostia, 124, 127, 130, 133-4, 139, 158; Piazza Venezia, 38, 134
 Houses, Greek, 139
 Houses, Shops and Warehouses, 133-40, 158-60
 Inscription to Verminius, 33
 Inscriptions, 53-4, 176; bronze, 85; Christian, 87, 160; cippus beneath Black Stone, 99; documentary, 78, 91, 95-9; elogia from Basilica Emilia, 89, from Forum of Augustus, 83-4, 89-90; Fasti from S. of Aventine, 98, F. of Ostia, 97, of Regia, 78, 98; Greek, 102, 104-5; Lex de imperio Vespasiani, 85; Mediæval, 87; monumental, 86-7, 91-2; magic function of, 83, 91-4, 99; sepulchral, 86-7, 91, 114, 116-7; Umbrian, 85; unofficial, 95, 100-6
 Inscriptions from Dolichenum of Aventine, 141-2, 176; Imperial Fora, 83-97; Mausoleum of Augustus, 73-4, of Hadrian 173; of Mithræum of Circus Maximus, 143, of Nerva's Forum, 91
 Inscriptions of Arval Brethren, 98; Claudius, 125; Duilius, 99; Equites Singulares, 159; Postumius, Aulus, 32-3; Prætorians, 99
 Inscriptions on mosaic with Boxers, 121-3; sarcophagus, 152; tabula lusoria, 105-6
 Insulæ, 133-40
 Isis, 142, 145

- Italian administration of
 Antiquities, 3, 28, 31, 41,
 46, 73, 76, 79, 179-82
 Italic fortifications, 23
 — temple, 33-4, 55, 57-8
 Ivory, 88-9, 117
- Janiculum, 116-7, 167-8
 Janus Curvatus, 167
 Jews, 118, 171
 Julia Domna, 72, 90
 Julian House, 60, 68, 71-2, 74,
 84, 111
 Julius Cæsar, Gaius, father of
 the Dictator, 90
 — — the Dictator,
 father, 90; Forum and
 Temple of Venus Genetrix,
 45, 48, 58, 64, 66, 87-8,
 95, 97, 100; he plans
 theatre "of Marcellus,"
 79; population of Rome
 under, 39; his death, 39,
 77; Deified, Shrine of,
 75, 78-9
 — — Strabo, Gaius, 90
 Juna, Sororia, 167
 Junius Bassus, 159
 Juno, 142
 Jupiter (*see also* Dolichenus),
 102
- Lamponius, 121-3
 Lanciani, R., 2, 20, 63
 Lararia, 64, 111
 Lares Permarini, Temple of,
 35
 Lateran, 119, 159, 168
 Latinus, King of Alba Longa,
 90
 Leo, 105-6
 Libraries of Trajan, 49, 52
 Ligorio, P., 31
 Limestone, 5
 Lion-Headed God, 144-5, 163
 Livia, 72; Villa of, 68
- Livy, 25, 130, 183
 Lucius Cæsar, 72, 74
 Lugli, G., 160, 187
 Luna, 8
- Macella, 48
 Man, Early, vii, 6, 12-17
 Mantua, 102-3, 183
 Marble, 1, 3, 5, 8, 46, 50,
 70-1, 73-4, 76, 78, 85, 87,
 91, 95-7, 115, 132, 150, 152,
 164-7, 170, 175-7
 Marcellus, 2, 74; theatre of,
 42, 78-81
 Marcus Aurelius, 96
 Markets of Trajan, 2, 49-50,
 91, 136, 172
 Mars, 61, 109-10
 — Temple of, "in Circo
 Flaminio," 35
 — Ultor, 60; dedications
 to, 90
 — — Temple of: *see*
 Forum of Augustus
 Mater Matuta, Temple of,
 35
 Materials, 1-9
 Mausoleum of Augustus, 68-
 75, 173; Hadrian, 172-3
 — — Halicarnassus, 71
 — — Romulus, 109
 Maxentius, his Basilica, 2,
 10, 45, 109-10; Circus,
 109; cult of Rome, 109-
 10; Mausoleum of Rom-
 ulus, 109; restoration of
 city wall, 28, 109, of
 Temple of Venus and Rome,
 59, 107-13
 Mediæval activities, 2-3, 73,
 85, 87, 119, 124, 139, 163,
 172-3, 177
 Mel Atticum, 121-2
 Mentality of Romans, 25, 81,
 85, 93, 105-6, 114
 Meta Sudans, 112

- Minerva, 60; Temple and Forum of, 49, 58-9
 Mithras, 91, 143-5, 147
 Modern Rome, 18-20, 28, 30-1, 37-42, 92, 154, 183
 Monogram, Constantinian, 105
 Monumentum Ancyranum, 67
 Mosaics, 121, 159-60, 175
 Museums, 53-4, 174-8
 individually:
 Antiquarium of Cælian, 11, 141, 175-6, 180
 — — — Forum, 76, 177, 179; of Mediæval objects in Forum, 177
 — — — Ostia, 130, 132
 — — — Palatine, 177, 179
 British Museum, 119
 Capitoline, 85, 180
 Conservatori, 176, 180
 dei Gessi, 177-8
 dell' Impero, 177
 Louvre, 119
 Mussolini, 99, 176, 180
 Naples, 85
 Nazionale Romano, 63, 101, 145, 154, 175
 Petriano, 176
 — Prætextatus, 149-54, 161, 177
 — Vatican, 119
 Myron, 163

 Naumachia of Augustus, 168
 — — — Trajan, 97
 Neandertal Man, 13-14
 Nemea, 57
 Nero, 108, 111, 166
 Nerva, 49, 52, 58, 72, 90
 Nile, 8, 46
 Nola, 68
 Nubia, 8, 46
 Numidia, 8

 Octavia, 72, 74
 Octavian: *see* Augustus
 Olympia, 1-2
 Oppian Hill, 112, 171
 Oriental cults, 91, 141-8
 Orientals in Rome, 117-18, 146-7
 Orontes, 146
 Ortorius Eleutherus, Marcus, 105
 Osiris, 105
 Ostia, 2-3, 88, 97, 101, 114-16, 124-34, 137, 139, 158;
 see also Portus

 Painting, 159, 166
 Palatine Hill, v, 1, 10, 20-1, 47, 67, 75-6, 101, 107, 111-12, 170-1, 176-7, 179
 Pantheon, 2, 172
 Papyrus, 91, 117
 Paribeni, R., 86, 88-9
 Parthians, 147
 Parthicus, 102
 Paul, St., 118
 Paulus, 104
 Peace, Temple of, 45, 49, 84, 175
 Pharsalica, 102
 Phœnicians, 147, 155
 Phrygia, 8
 Phrygian influence, 145
 Phrygians, 146-7
 Piazza Venezia, 38, 133-4
 Plan of Ostia, 124-30; of Rome, the Marble P., 175-6
 Pliny the Elder, 66
 Poliorcetics, 24
 Polyclitus, 163
 Pomerium, 25-6, 48, 60-1, 65, 111
 Pompeii, 61-4, 80, 100-1, 103, 138
 Pompey, 30, 63-4, 66, 79
 Pontus, 118

- Population of Rome, 39
 Porphyry, 8, 111, 120, 155
 Port of Rome at Forum
 Boarium, 35-6
 Porta Collina, 123
 — Maggiore, 119
 — Pia, 12
 — San Paolo, 42
 Portico of Livia, v
 Porticoes at Ostia, 128
 — in Rome:
 in general, 92
 of Argentina Zone, 31-2
 — Domitian's Palaces,
 170
 — Forum of Augustus, 51
 — — Julius Caesar, 46
 — — Nerva, 49
 — — Trajan, 52
 — Golden House, 108
 — Imperial Fora, 50, 110
 — Temple of Venus and
 Rome, 107, 112
 near Theatre of Marcellus,
 81
 of Theatre of Pompey, 30
 Porticus Minucia, 35
 Portraits, 132, 150-1, 154,
 156-7, 161, 163-4, 175
 Portunus, Shrine of, 35
 Portus (*see also* Ostia), 114,
 124-32
 — Cemetery of, 114-19,
 127
 Postumius, Aulus, 32-3
 Præneste, 63
 Prætextatus Cemetery and
 Museum, 149-54, 161, 177
 Prætorians, 99
 Pre-Augustan buildings, 77-80
 Prima Porta, 68
 Primitive Rome, 22, 43-4
 Priscilla, 118
 Probus, 27-8
 Procula, 104
 Proculus, 96
 Professions: *see* Trades
 Proserpina, 156, 162
 Provinces, 177
 Psyche, 156
 Quarry-marks, 18, 24, 33
 Quintilii, Villa of, 146
 Quirinal Hill, 22, 49, 91, 136
 Quirinus, 102
 Regia, 78; Fasti of, 78, 98
 Renaissance activities, 3, 31,
 74-6, 85, 89-90, 92, 173
 Republican temples, 30-6,
 161, 164-5
 Richmond, I. A., 28-9
 Romula, 109
 Romulus, Founder of Rome,
 109
 — Son of Maxentius, 109
 Rosso antico, 8, 119-21
 Sabina, 87-8
 Sabratha, 87-9
 Saccopastore, vii, 12-15
 Sacred Way: *see* Via Sacra
 Säflund, G., 20, 24
 Sand, 5, 7, 11, 81
 Santo Spirito, 166
 Sarcophagi, 149-57, 161, 175
 Scholae, 59
 Scipios, 166
 Sculpture (*see also* Por-
 traits; Statues):
 Fragments at Ostia, 126
 Frieze, marble, from
 Basilica Æmilia, 76-7,
 161, 177
 of Oriental Cults, 141-8, 176
 Relief representing Temple
 of Venus and Rome, 113
 Reliefs in terra-cotta from
 Portus cemetery, 115,
 118-19
 — — marble from Ostia,
 115-16

- Sculpture, Greek, 177-8 *et passim*
 Seats for clinical purposes, 188-21
 Secular Games, 98-9
 Septimius Severus, 159, 164;
 population under, 39;
 Secular Games under, 98
 Serapis, 142; Temple of, 107
 Sergi, S., vii, 14, 16
 Servius Tullius, 22
 Shops and Offices, 139-40;
 at Ostia, 139; Piazza
 Venezia, 38, 134; Trajan's
 Markets, 49, 136-7
 Shrines, distinguished from
 temples, 34
 Soracte, 102
 Sosius, Gaius, 78
 Statues in general, 53-4,
 92-3, 141, 161, 176
 — Imperial Fora, 50,
 84, 89, 97
 — of Mausoleum of Augus-
 tus, 71, 73-4
 — Acrolithic, 33, 164-5
 — Artemis from Aricia, 63
 — Colossal, of Porphyry,
 at Temple of Venus and
 Rome, 111-12
 — Cult, 57-9, 164-5
 — terra-cotta, from Aricia
 shrine, 162
 Strabo in praise of Rome, v
 Strong, Mrs., 183
 Stucco, 7, 35, 100-1, 103,
 152, 157, 169
 Sulla, 90, 123, 129-30, 139
 Sun, Temple of, 107
 Syracuse, 24
 Syrians, 147

 Tabula lusoria, 105-6
 Tabularium, 2
 Tænarum, 8, 119
 Tarpeia, 76
 Tarpeian Rock, 43
 Taurus, 97
 Temple, Græco-Roman, 58;
 Greek, 46, 57; Italic, 33-4,
 46, 55, 57-8; Tuscan 33,
 55
 Temples, v, 34, 46, 54-5,
 92-3, 128, 130-1, 161,
 164-5, 170
 — consecration and dedi-
 cation of, 58, 66-7
 — Republican, 30-6
 — : *see also* individual
 divinities
 Templum, the term 66-7
 Theatre, the Greek, 80; the
 Roman, 79-81
 Theatres: in general, 120; of
 Marcellus, 42, 78-81; of
 Pompey, 30, 63, 66-7, 79-81
 Theodosius, 89
 Thera, 64
 Tiber, 3, 7, 14, 21, 35-6,
 39-40, 42, 47, 69, 71, 81,
 114, 124-9, 131, 147,
 166-8, 173
 Tiberius, 72, 90
 Tibur, 7-8, 170
 Tigillum Sororium, 167
 Titius Aquilinus, 96
 Titus, 26, 111, 171
 Topography and Monuments
 of Rome, the science, 4,
 37, 52-5, 167
 Trades, Crafts, Professions, 9,
 47-8, 114-23, 128, 137
 Trajan, his Basilica Argen-
 taria, 100, 103; Basilica
 Ulpia, 49, 52, 97; Baths,
 111, 171-2; Column, 49-
 50, 52, 77, 97; Forum 49,
 52, 84, 91, 96-7, 136;
 Libraries, 49, 52; Markets,
 2, 49-50, 91, 136, 172;
 name in inscription, 90;
 Port, 125-6; restoration of

- Temple of Venus Genetrix, 45, 58, 97; Temple of Deified, 50, 58-9, 110
 Tranquillina, 146
 Travertine, 7-8, 31-2, 35, 70-1, 79, 110
 Tufa, 5, 7-8, 11-12, 18-23, 32, 35, 40, 51, 129, 131
 Tumulus, 70-1
 Tuscan Temple, 33, 55
 Twins, Founders of Rome, 109-10

 Urns, cinerary, 71-4, 155, 175

 Valentinian and Valens, 96
 Valerius Januarius, 96
 Vatican, 7
 — State, 179
 Vaults, influence of wood upon, 81-2
 Velabrum, 21
 Velia, 10, 12, 15, 163-4, 167, 176
 Velitræ, 68
 Venus, 61
 — and Rome, Temple of, 59, 61, 107-13
 — Genetrix, 60
 — — Temple of, 45, 48, 58, 64, 66, 97
 — Victrix, 63-4, 66, 102
 Verminus, 33
 Verona, 102
 Vespasian, his death and sepulture, 72; extension of pomerium, 26-7; Temple of Peace, 45, 49, 84, 175
 Vesta, Shrine of, 168
 Via Appia, 68, 109, 112, 145, 162
 — Biberatica, 137, 172
 — dei Trionfi, 42
 Via dell' Impero, 10, 39-40, 42, 45, 58, 76, 163, 167
 — del Mare, 39, 42-3, 79, 133
 — Flaminia, 26, 68-9, 73, 75
 — Lata, 38
 — Sacra, 47, 107, 112, 171, 177
 — Tiburtina, 160, 177
 Vicomagistri, 96, 98, 167
 Vigiles, Barracks of, 101
 Villa of Hadrian, 170
 — — Livia, 68
 Viminal Hill, 22, 33
 Virgil, 16, 68, 102-4, 118, 127, 183
 Vitruvius, 61, 138
 Volcanoes, 5, 7, 12
 Vulcan, 61

 Wall of a city, 61
 — — Rome (?) represented on frieze, 76
 — — — Early, 7, 22, 44
 — — — Imperial, 5, 27-9, 39; restored by Honorius, 29; by Maxentius, 28; in sixth century, 29
 — — — Republican, 18-25, 33, 48, 60, 131
 Walls of Ostia, 129-31, 139
 Warehouses in general, 139-40; at Ostia, 128, 139; Piazza Venezia, 38, 134; Trajan's Markets, 137; on Marble Plan of Rome, 140
 Wattle-and-daub, 6
 Wilpert, J., 153
 Wolf, 110
 Wood, use and influence of, 6, 80-2, 155

 Zcus Bronton, 145

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